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James Lenox

HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

THE FOURTH CANTO

OF

CHILDE HAROLD:

CONTAINING

DISSERTATIONS ON THE RUINS OF ROME;

AND

AN ESSAY ON ITALIAN LITERATURE.

BY

JOHN HOBHOUSE, ESQ.

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LONDON:

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1818.


NEW YO

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE reader of the Illustrations is requested to bear in mind the object with which they were originally written, and not expect to find in them a plan or order which can be discovered only with reference to the Fourth Canto of Childe Harold. They follow the progress of the Pilgrim, and were, indeed, as well as the notes now appended to the Canto, for the most part written whilst the noble author was yet employed in the composition of his poem. They were, with the exception of the three or four last articles, put into the hands of Lord Byron, much in the state in which they now appear; and the partiality of friendship assigned to them

the same place which is occupied by the notes detached from them. But the writer, on his return to England, considered that the appendix to the Canto would thus be swelled to a disproportioned bulk, and that the numerous readers of the poetry would be better pleased if the choice, whether or not they were to be furnished with a volume of prose, were to be left altogether to themselves. Under this impression, such only of the notices as were more immediately connected with the text of the poem, were added to that work, and perhaps the writer may, even in the present instance, have to apologize for not being contented with less copious extracts.

Some of the longer notices of this volume are, it will be seen, dissertations not at all requisite for the intelligibility of Childe Harold, although they may illustrate the positions or the objects therein contained. The writer did not like to

touch upon the topics connected with a view of the ruins of Rome, without recurring to the best authorities on that subject. His researches naturally made him diffuse, and he will be well pleased if they have not made him desultory and tedious. He must own himself not to have been idle during the time employed in his investigation, which occupied several months of his residence at Venice; but he will also confess, that it is very likely he ought to have protracted that time, and more carefully revised his compilation. Those who may discover the errors of these notices, are intreated to remember, that in questions depending upon the consultation of authorities, the most assiduous attention may overlook a book, a phrase, or a word, which may change the whole face of the controversy; that industry and fairness may be demanded from all writers, but that the endless details of erudition forbid

the antiquarian enquirer to hope for any other than qualified applause.

It is trusted, however, that the information here collected is such as a traveller in Italy would wish to find prepared for him; and such also as those whose voyages are confined to their libraries may esteem, if not a substitute for an actual survey, at least an addition to their stock of knowledge on subjects which will never lose their interest, until the example of the greatest, the best, and the wisest of mankind, shall be found too painful and impracticable a lesson for modern degeneracy.

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HISTORICAL ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

FOURTH CANTO

OF

CHILDE HAROLD.

Stanza XXXI.

And 'tis their pride—
An honest pride—and let it be their praise,
To offer to the passing stranger's gaze
His mansion and his sepulchre.

THERE is no country which can contend with Italy in the honours heaped upon the great men of past ages: and the present race accuse themselves of living upon the labours of their ancestors, and, as is the usual reproach of heirs, of finding in their transmitted wealth an inducement to inactivity. The territorial divisions and subdivisions which contributed to the emulation of these luminaries themselves, has tended to the preservation of their fame; and the

jealousy of each little district guards the altar of its individual divinity, not only as the shrine which is to attract the pilgrims of united Europe, but as the birthright which is to distinguish it amongst the children of the same mother, and exalt it to a preference above its immediate neighbours. Italian rivalry, in default of those contests which employed the arts and arms of the middle ages, now vents itself in the invidious comparison of individual *fasti*, and in the innocent ostentatious display not of deeds but names. Thus it is that there is scarcely a village in which the traveller is not reminded of the birth, or the residence, or the death, or the deeds of one or more of the offspring of a soil, fruitful in every production, but more especially the land of men. The affection with which even the lower classes appropriate the fame of their departed countrymen is very striking to a foreigner; and such expressions as "our Correggio," and "our Ariosto," in the mouth of a peasant, revive, as it were, not only the memory, but the man himself. When Napoleon made his progress through his Italian dominions, the inhabitants of Reggio received him with a fête, the principal decoration of which was a temple of immortality, painted at the end of a gallery, adorned with a double range of tablets, to the honour of those worthies for whose existence

the world had been indebted to the duchy of Reggio. The pretensions of Reggio may exemplify those of the other provinces of Italy, and the reader may not object to survey the pompous list.

Boiardo, Signore di Scandiano, epico, del secolo xv.

Guida da Lazara, giureconsulto, del secolo xiii.

Ludovico Ariosto, nato a Reggio, da Daria Maleguzi, Reggiana, lirico, comico, satirico, epico, del secolo xiv.

Domenicho Toschi, Cardinale, Reggiano, giureconsulto, del secolo xvi.

Filippo Carolí, Reggiano, giureconsulto, del secolo xiv.

Antonio Pacchioni, Reggiano, anatomico, del secolo xvii.

Cesare Magati, Scandianese, medico e chirurgo, del secolo xvii.

Gianntonio Rocca, Reggiano, matematico, del secolo xvii.

Antonio Allegri, detto il Corregio da Corregio, pittore, del secolo xvi.

Tomaso Cambiatori, Reggiano, giureconsulto, oratore, poeta, del secolo xvi.

Sebastiano Conradi di Arceto, grammatico e critico, del secolo xvi.

Lelio Orsi, Reggiano, pittore, del secolo xvi.

Vincenzo Cartari, Reggiano, filologo, del secolo xvi.

Rafaello Motta, Reggiano, pittore, del secolo xvi.

Guido Panciroli, Reggiano, giureconsulto, storico, filologo, del secolo xvi.

Ludovico Parisetti, Reggiano, poeta Latino, del secolo xvi.

Gasparo Scaroffi, Reggiano, œconomista, del secolo xvi.

Luca Ferrari, Reggiano, pittore, del secolo xvii.

Domenico Ceccati, da Stiano, scultore ed intagliatore, del secolo xvii.

Antonio Vallisnera da Scandiano, medico, naturalista, del secolo xvii.

Pelegrino Sallandri, Reggiano, poeta, del secolo xviii.

Agostino Parradisi, Reggiano, œconomista, oratore, poeta, del secolo xviii.

Francesco Fontanesi, Reggiano, poeta, del secolo xviii.

Jacopo Zannoni da Montecchio, botanico, del secolo xvii.

Lazari Spalanzani da Scandiano, naturalista, del secolo xviii.

Laura Bassi di Scandiano, fisica, del secolo xviii.

Carlo Antonioli da Corregio, filologo, del secolo xviii.

Francesco Cassoli, Reggiano, poeta, del secolo xviii.

Luigi Lamberti, Reggiano, filologo e poeta, del secolo xviii.

Antonio Gamborini, Reggiano, teologo, del secolo xviii.

Bonaventura Corti, Reggiano, fisico, del secolo xviii.

Stanza XXXVI.

And Tasso is their glory and their shame.
Hark to his strain! and then survey his cell!

In the hospital of St. Anna, at Ferrara, they shew a cell, over the door of which is the following inscription:

Rispettate, O Posteri, la celebrità di questa stanza, dove Torquato Tasso infermò piu di tristezza che delirio, ditenuto dimorò anni VII mesi II, scrisse verse e prose, e fu rimesso in libertà ad instanza della città di Bergamo, nel giorno VI Luglio 1586.

The dungeon is below the ground floor of the hospital, and the light penetrates through its grated window from a small yard, which seems to have been common to other cells. It is nine paces long, between five and six wide, and about

seven feet high. The bedstead, so they tell, has been carried off piecemeal, and the door half cut away by the devotion of those whom "the verse and prose" of the prisoner have brought to Ferrara.

The above address to posterity was inscribed at the instigation of General Miollis, who filled Italy with tributes to her great men, and was not always very solicitous as to the authentic application of his record. Common tradition had assigned the cell to Tasso long before the inscription: and we may recollect, that, some years ago, a great German poet was much incensed, not at the sufferings of the prisoner, but at the pretensions of the prison. But the author of Werter need not have felt so insulted by the demand for his faith. The cell was assuredly one of the prisons of the hospital, and in one of those prisons we know that Tasso was confined[1]. The present inscription, indeed, does exaggerate the merits of the chamber, for the

[1] The author of the historical memoir on Italian tragedy saw this dungeon in 1792, and, in spite of some hints from the English biographer of Tasso, was inclined to believe it to have been the original place of the poet's confinement. See Black's Life of Tasso, cap. xv. vol. ii. p. 97: but the site will not correspond with what Tasso says of his being removed to a *neighbouring* apartment, "assai piu commoda"—there is no such *commodious neighbouring* apartment on the same level.

poet was a prisoner in the same room only from the middle of March 1579, to December 1580, when he was removed to a contiguous apartment much larger, in which, to use his own expressions, he could philosophize and walk about[1]. His prison was, in the year 1584, again enlarged[2]. It is equally certain, also, that once, in 1581, he was permitted to leave the hospital for the greater part of a day[3], and that this favour was occasionally granted to him in the subsequent years of his confinement[4]. The inscription is incorrect, also, as to the immediate cause of his enlargement, which was promised to the city of Bergamo, but was carried into effect at the intercession of Don Vincenzo Gonzago, Prince of Mantua, chiefly owing to the unwearied application of Antonio Constantino, a gentleman in the suite of the Florentine embassy[5].

But the address should not have confined itself to the respect due to the prison: one honest line might have been allotted to the

[1] La Vita di Torquato Tasso, scritta dall' abate Pierantonio Serassi, seconda edizione. . . . in Bergamo, 1790, pp. 34 and 64, tom. ii.

[2] La Vita, &c. lib. iii. p. 83, tom. ii.

[3] La Vita, &c. lib. iii. p. 63, tom. ii.

[4] Vide p. 83, ut sup.

[5] La Vita, &c. lib. iii. p. 142, tom. ii.

condemnation of the gaoler. There seems in the Italian writers something like a disposition to excuse the Duke of Ferrara by extenuating the sufferings, or exaggerating the derangement of the poet. He who contemplates the dungeon, or even the hospital, of St. Anna, will be at a loss to reconcile either the one or the other with that "ample lodgement" which, according to the antiquities of the house of Este, the partiality of Alfonso allotted to the man "whom he loved and esteemed much, and wished to keep near his person[1]." Muratori confesses himself unable to define the offence of the patient; and in a short letter devoted expressly to the subject, comes to no other general conclusion, than that he could not be called insane[2],

[1] "Ma perciocchè questo principe l'amava e stimava forte, e non voleva privarsene elesse di alimentalo in quell' ampio luogo, con desiderio che ivi fosse curato anche il corpo suo." Antichità Estensi, parte sec. cap. xiii. p. 405, ediz. fol. Mutin. 1740.

[2] Lettera ad Apostolo Zeno, vide Tasso's Works, vol. x. p. 244. "Nè mentecatto nè pazzo," are Muratori's words. See also p. 242 and p. 243. He is a little freer spoken in this letter, but still says, "*the wise prince did not give way to his anger.*" Muratori's Annals were attacked on their first appearance, as "uno de' libri più fatali al principato Romano;" to which the librarian replied, that "truth was neither Guelf nor Ghibelline." If he had thought that she was neither catholic nor protestant, he would not have slurred over the massacre

but was confined partly for chastisement, partly for cure, having probably spoken some indiscreet words of Alfonso. He makes no mention of the disease of the prince; nor is it easy to discover that free exercise of his understanding for which Mr. Gibbon has somewhere praised this celebrated antiquary[1]. Indeed, in his notice of this injustice, the librarian of the Duke of Modena, so far from seeming to forget the interests of the princely house which pensioned his labours, suggests rather the obvious reflection, that when a writer has to obtain or repay any other patronage than that of the public, his first and paramount object cannot be the establishment of truth. Even the subject of an absolute monarchy is an unsafe guide on almost every topic. The over-rated La Bruyere was base enough to reckon the dragooning of the

of St. Bartholomew as an event which gave rise to many exaggerations from the Hugonots. "Lascerò io disputare ai gran Dottori intorno al giustificare o riprovare quel si strepitoso fatto; bastando a me di dire, che per cagion d'esso immense esagerazioni fece il partito de gli Ugonoti, e loro servì di stimolo e scusa per ripigliar l'armi contra del Re." Annali ad an. 1572, tom. x. p. 464. In page 469, ibid. he talks of the great loss of France by the death of the murderer Charles IX. who, if he had lived, would have "extirpated the seed of heresy."

[1] For a fine and just character of Muratori, see, however, "the Antiquities of the House of Brunswick," p. 641. vol. ii. quarto. Gibbon's Misc. Works.

protestants amongst the most commendable actions of Louis XIV.[1]

Manso, the friend and biographer of Tasso, might have been expected to throw some light upon so important a portion of his history, but the five chapters devoted to the subject only encumbered the question with inconclusive discussion. What is still more extraordinary, it appears, that of seven or eight cotemporary Ferrarese annalists, only one has mentioned that Tasso was confined at all, and that one, Faustini, has assigned a cause more laughable than instructive[2]. The later librarian of Modena was equally disingenuous with his predecessor, and had the confidence to declare, that by prescribing a seven years confinement Alfonso consulted only the health, and honour, and advantage, of

[1] The same writer declares "homage to a king" to be the sole sufficing virtue of every good subject in a monarchy, "where there is no such thing as love of our country—the interest, the glory, and the service of the prince, supply its place." De la Republique, chap. x. For which sentiment our great *obsolete* poet has made honourable mention of him amongst his dunces, [The Dunciad, book iv. v. 522.] with whom he might be safely left, did he not belong rather to the rogues than the fools.

[2] "Il Duca Alfonso II. il fece rinchiudere per curarlo di una fistola che lo travagliava." Vid. Tiraboschi Storia della Letter. Ital. lib. iii. part iii. tom. vii. p. 1210, edit. Venet. 1796.

Tasso, who evinced his continued obstinacy by considering himself a prisoner[1]. But, with the librarian's leave, the suspicion was justified by the apprehension of his Italian cotemporaries, who, in their supplications for his release, seldom gave him any other name. The same writer announced, in the first edition of his History of Italian Literature, that he had made the long-looked-for discovery as to the cause of Tasso's confinement, and had entrusted the documents found in the archives of the house of Este, to the Abate Serassi. In his second edition he declared that his expectations, and those of all the learned world, had been answered by the life of the poet published by the Abate in 1785[2]: but the antiquary, still faithful to his

[1] "Credette egli perciò che e all'onore e alla salute del Tasso niuna cosa potesse esser più utile che il tenerlo non già prigione, ma custodito intanto procurava con rimedj di calmarne l'animo e la fantasia. Ma ciò che Alfonso operò al vantaggio del Tasso non servì che a renderne sempre peggiore la conditione—Gli parvè esser prigione." Tiraboschi, Storia, &c. lib. iii. tom. vii. par. iii. p. 1213, edit. Venet. 1796.

[2] Storia, &c. p. 1212, ut sup.

The English author of the Life of Tasso seems half inclined to believe in the love of his poet for Leonora. [Black, chap. viii. vol. i. p. 188, and chap. xiii. vol. ii. p. 2,] and quotes a passage in a letter to Gonzaga, omitted by Serassi, in which he talks of the princess having but little corresponded to his attachment [Ib. chap. xiv. vol. ii. p. 89]. Mr. Walker, in his

patrons, did not mention, that it appears from every page of the biography, that the imprisonment must be attributed rather to the vengeance and mean apprehensions of the prince, than to the extravagance of the poet.

The Abate Serassi was acknowledged to be a perfect master of the "cinque cento," and he has perhaps spoken as freely as could be expected from a priest, an Italian, and a frequenter of the tables of the great. He shows that he is labouring with a secret, or at least, a persuasion, which he is at a loss in what manner honestly to conceal; and which, in spite of an habitual respect for the best of princes and the

historical memoir, was bold enough to follow the old story even in the face of Serassi, who does, however, appear to have completely settled the question. Poetical gallantry will account for all the phenomena. Dr. Black himself wisely rejects that passion as the adequate cause of Torquato's insanity: but we may not perhaps subscribe to his opinion, that the poet lost his senses on account of the objections made to his Jerusalem [chap. xv. vol. ii. p. 91]. The biographer presumes him positively mad, and argues on his case out of Pinel and Haslam, and others [chap. xii. vol. i. p. 808.] On this ground he supposes the harsh conduct of the duke was adopted as necessary for the cure of Tasso [chap. xv. vol. ii. p. 87, and chap. xvi. vol. ii. p. 113]; and, if his meaning has not been mistaken, he almost apologizes for the prescription of Alfonso. It is no objection to Dr. Black's work, that the biographical details are transcribed from Serassi: but this circumstance must excuse the writer from having cited the original rather than the English author.

most illustrious of cardinals, is sufficiently apparent to confirm our suspicion of Alfonso's tyranny. The Duke had not the excuse of Tasso's presumption in aspiring to the love of the princely Leonora. The far-famed kiss is certainly an invention, although not of a modern date. The English were taught by a cotemporary writer to believe that the Lydian boy and the goddess of Antium had precipitated Torquato into his dungeon[1], and Manso hinted the same probability, but with much circumspection. The tale was at last openly told in "*The Three Gondolas,*" a little work, published in 1662, by Girolamo Brusoni, at Venice, and immediately suppressed[2]. Leonora of Este was thirty years old when Tasso came to Ferrara; and this perhaps, notwithstanding that serene brow, where Love all armed was wont to expatiate, reconciled him to the reverence and

[1] Mutis abditus ac nigris tenebris
In quas præcipitem dedere cæci
Infans Lydius, Antiique Diva.

See some Hendecasyllables of Scipio Gentilis. Serassi la Vita del Tasso, &c. lib. iii. p. 34. tom. ii.

[2] Serassi calls it an *operaccia*. La Vita, &c. lib. ii. p. 169. tom. i. Muratori in his letter to Apostolo Zeno, p. 240. loc. cit. tells the story from Carretta, who had heard it from Tassoni; and though he hesitates about the kiss, seems to believe Tasso was in love with Leonora, p. 242. Mr. Gibbon [Antiquities of the House of Brunswick, p. 693.] turns the story to good account—he believes and makes a period.

wonder which succeeded to the first feelings of admiration and delight[1]. It is true that neither her age, nor the vermillion cloud which obscured the eyes of Lucretia[2], rendered his Muse less sensible to the pleasure of being patronized by the illustrious sisters. Perhaps his intercourse with them was not altogether free from that inclination which the charms of any female might readily excite in a temperament too warm to be a respecter of persons. But his heart was devoted to humbler and younger beauties; and more particularly to Lucretia Bendedio, who had also to rank the author of the Pastor Fido amongst her immortal suitors[3]. Of this passion the princess Leonora was the confidante, and aspired to the cure, by the singular expedient of persuading him to become the encomiast of one of his rivals[4]. It appears then that the

[1] E certo il primo dì, che 'l bel sereno
Della tua fronte agli ochi miei s' offerse,
E vidi armato spaziarvi l' Amore,
Se non che riverenza allor converse
E meraviglia in fredda selce il seno
Ivi perìa con doppia morte il core.

Canzone. La Vita, &c. lib. ii. p. 148. tom. i.

[2] Questa nebbia si bella e si vermiglia.

Tass. Oper. vol. vi. p. 27. La Vita, &c. lib. ii. p. 150. tom. i.

[3] La Vita, &c. lib. ii. p. 157. tom. i.

[4] La Vita, ut sup. Pigna was this rival.

biographer is justified in exclaiming against the scandal, which is incompatible with the rank and piety of a princess who was a temple of honour and chastity, and a single prayer of whom rescued Ferrara from the anger of heaven and the inundation of the Po[1]. It is, also, but too certain that Leonora deserted the poet in the first days of his distress; and it is equally known that Tasso, who would not have forgotten an early flame, did not hang a single garland on the bier of his supposed mistress[2].

The biographer has left it without doubt that the first cause of the punishment of Tasso was his desire to be occasionally, or altogether, free from his servitude at the court of Alfonso, and that the immediate pretext of his imprisonment was no other than disrespectful mention of the Duke and his court. In 1575 he resolved, notwithstanding the advice of the Duchess of Urbino, to visit Rome, and enjoy the indulgence of the jubilee, and this "error increasing the

[1] Quando del Pò tremar l' altere sponde
Ferrara dannegiando e dentro, e fuora;
Un sol prego di te, casta Leonora,
Spense l' ire del ciel giuste e profonde.
Sonetto di Filippo Binaschi.

See La Vita, &c. lib. ii. p. 170. tom. i.

[2] La Vita, &c. lib. iii. pp. 12, 48, 50. tom. ii.

suspicion already entertained at court, that he was in search of another service," was the origin of his misfortunes[1]. Alfonso detained him at Ferrara by the expectation of unrealized favours[2], and also by withholding his Jerusalem, which he would not allow the author to carry with him to Venice, nor, although he had promised the delivery of the manuscript to Cardinal Albani, would consent to restore after the flight of Tasso to Rome[3]. An habitual melancholy, a morbid sensibility, irritated by the injuries of his rivals and the treachery of his friends, had driven him into an excess against an individual of the court: but Alfonso did not punish him for drawing his knife: he was merely confined to his apartment, and from this confinement and the medicine, which he

[1] "Perciocchè da un si fatto errore si può dir che avessero origine le sue disavventure, essendosi con ciò accresciuto a dimisura il sospetto, che già si aveva alla corte, ch' egli cercasse altro servizio."—La Vita, &c. lib. ii. pp. 232, 233. tom. i.

[2] "Il Duca m' ha fatto molti favori, ma io vorrei frutti e non fiori."—In a letter from Tasso to Scalabrino. La Vita, &c. lib. ii. p. 245. tom. i.

[3] "Forse perchè increscева al duca e alle principesse il perdere dopo la persona del poeta anche i suoi pregiati componimenti."—An innocent observation of the Abate's. La Vita, &c. lib. iii. p. 7. tom. i.

equally dreaded, found means to escape[1]. But he felt an anxiety to recover his manuscript, and, although the Cardinal Albano and Scipio Gonzaga dissuaded him from trusting himself at the court of Alfonso, returned to Ferrara. He there found that the Jerusalem had been put into other hands, and that the Duke, after refusing to hear him mention the subject, denied him, at last, all access to himself and the princesses. The biographer presumes that this treatment is to be partly charged upon the poet, who, instead of putting himself into a course of medicine, ate and drank to excess; but he candidly owns that Tasso had a right to his own property, the fruits of his own genius[2]. He again retired, and again returned, in opposition

[1] "Intanto il Tasso cominciò a lasciarsi purgare, ma di malissimo animo." La Vita, &c. lib. ii. p. 283. tom. i. Poor Tasso thought the excellence of a physician consisted in prescribing medicines not only salutiferous but agreeable: "Perchè come V. S. sa, l' eccellenza de' medici consiste in buona parte in dar le medicine non solo salutifere, ma piacevole."—Tass. Oper. vol. x. p. 360. Lettera a Biaggio Bernardi. La Vita, &c. lib. iii. p. 81. tom. ii.

[2] "Per altro sebbene sia da credersi che molte di sì fatte cose fossero soltanto effetto della sua imaginazione, e ch' egli anzi avesse irritato quell' ottimo principe col non aver voluto prestarsi ad una purga rigorosa ad ogni modo sembra, che se gli dovesse almeno restituire il suo poema."—La Vita, &c. lib. iii. p. 13. tom. ii.

to the intreaties of the Marquis Philip of Este, and others, who were better acquainted than himself with the character of Alfonso[1]. The Duke now refused to admit him to an audience. He was repulsed from the houses of all the dependants of the court; and not one of the promises which the Cardinal Albano had obtained for him were carried into effect. Then it was that Tasso, " after having suffered these hardships with patience for some time, seeing himself constantly discountenanced by the Duke and the princesses, abandoned by his friends, and derided by his enemies, could no longer contain himself within the bounds of moderation, but giving vent to his choler, publicly broke forth into the most injurious expressions imaginable, both against the Duke and all the house of Este, as well as against the principal lords of the court, cursing his past service, and retracting all the praises he had ever given in his verses to those princes, or to any individual connected with them, declaring that they were all a " gang of poltroons, ingrates, and scoundrels." These are the words of Serassi[2]; and for this offence was Tasso arrested, and instead of being punished,

[1] La Vita, &c. lib. iii. p. 31. tom. ii.

[2] " Che tutti in quel momento spacciò per una ciurma di poltroni, ingrati, e ribaldi." La Vita, &c. lib. iii. p. 33. tom. ii.

such is the hint of his biographer, was, by his "generous and magnanimous" sovereign, conducted to the hospital of St. Anna, and confined in a solitary cell as a madman. From repeated passages in his letters, from the intercessions made in his favour by so many of the Italian potentates[1], from the condition annexed to his release, by which the Duke of Mantua stipulated that he would be guarantee against any literary reprisals from the poet against his persecutor[2], there can be no doubt but that these injurious expressions, and these alone, were the cause of the confinement of Tasso: so that, as the unwillingly convinced biographer is obliged to exclaim, it appears extraordinary that so many fables should have been dreamt of to account for the motive of his long imprisonment[3]. Had

[1] La Vita, &c. lib. iii. p. 128. tom. ii. Bergamo tempted Alfonso by the present of an antique fragment, p. 128. ut sup.

[2] "Ma riflettendo, che i poeti sono di loro natura *genus irritabile*, e temendo perciò che Torquato, trovandosi libero, non volesse coll' armi formidabili della sua penna vendicarsi della lunga prigionia, e de' mali trattamenti ricevuti a quella corte, non sapea risolversi a lasciarlo uscire da' suoi stati, senza prima essere assicurato, ch' ei non tenterebbe cosa alcuna contro l' onore e la riverenza dovuta a un sì gran principe com' egli era."—La Vita, &c. lib. iii. p. 128. tom. ii.

[3] "Cosicchè sembra cosa strana, come altri abbia potuto sognare tante favole, come si è fatto intorno al motivo della sua lunga prigionia." La Vita, &c. lib. iii. p. 34. tom. ii.

that which Montaigne called "his fatal vivacity" directed itself against any others than the Duke and court of Ferrara, or had it preyed, as the Frenchman thought, upon himself alone[1], a prison would not have been the prescription for such harmless extravagance.

It has been before mentioned that he was only nine months in the first dungeon allotted to his crime, or, as his tyrant called it, his cure; but to one, whose disease was a dread of solitude, and whose offence was a love of liberty, the hospital of St. Anna was, of itself, a dungeon[2]. It is certain that for nearly the first year he endured all the horrors of a solitary sordid cell, and that he was under the care of a gaoler whose chief virtue, although he was a poet and a man of letters, was a cruel obedience to the com-

[1] "N' a t'il pas de quoi savoir grè a cette sienne vivacité meurtrière," &c. &c. Essais, &c. liv. ii. cap. xii. p. 214. tom. ii. edit. stereot. 1811.

[2] "E 'l timor di continua prigionia molto accresce la mia mestizia; e l' accresce l' indegnità, che mi conviene usare; e lo squallore della barba, e delle chiome, e degli abiti, e la sordidezza, e 'l succidume fieramente m' annojano: e sovra tutto m' affligе la solitudine, mia crudele e natural nemica, della quale anco nel mio buono stato era talvolta cosi molestato che in ore intempestive m' andava cercando, o andava ritrovando compagnia." Letter from Tasso to Scipio Gonzaga. Oper. vol. x. p. 386. La Vita, &c. lib. iii. p. 35. tom. ii.

mands of his prince[1]. Whatever occasional alleviations were allowed to his distress, he was a prisoner to the last day of his abode in the hospital, and he felt that there was perpetually a door barred between him and the relief of his body and his soul[2]. His misfortune was rather aggravated than diminished by the repeated expectations held out to him of approaching liberation. His calamities gathered upon him with his confinement, and at no time was his condition more deplorable than in the last months of his detention[3]. Amongst the dis-

[1] "Sed neque cui parvo est virtus in corpore major
"Mustius, obsequiis intentus principis usque."
His name was Agostino Mosti. See La Vita, &c. lib. iii. p. 38. tom. ii. Tasso says of him, in a letter to his sister, "ed usa meco ogni sorte di rigore ed inumanità." See Opera. vol. ix. p. 183, and La Vita, &c. lib. iii. p. 40. tom. ii. Baruffaldi tries to defend him, by saying that Tasso was guilty of high treason, and Mosti was only doing his duty. Vita di M. L. Ariosto, lib. iii. p. 244. This avowal is every thing for the point wished to be proved.

[2] "O Signor Maurizio, quando sara quel giorno ch' io possa respirar sotto il cielo aperto, e che non mi veda sempre un uscio serrato davanti, quando mi pare di aver bisogno del medico o del confessore." This pathetic letter was written to his friend Cataneo a few months before his release. Opera. vol. ix. p. 367. La Vita, lib. iii. p. 139. tom. ii.

[3] "Sappia che per l' infermità di molti anni sono smemoratissimo e per questa cagione dolentissimo, benchè non sia questa sola &c, c' è la debolezza di tutti i sensi e di tutte le

eases of his body and his mind, the desire and despair of freedom so constantly preyed upon him, that when the order for his departure had been obtained, his friends were cautious not to communicate the glad tidings to him too abruptly, for fear of some fatal revulsion. We must then deduct something from the harmonious praise which our eloquent and courtly countryman claims for the splendid patronage of the house of Este. The liberality, the taste, the gratitude of Cardinal Hippolyto, may be collected from the poet whom he degraded into a courier, whose Orlando he derided, and whose services he requited with disdainful neglect [1]. The mag-

membra, e quasi la vechiezza venuta innanzi agli anni, e la prigionia, e l' ignoranza delle cose del mondo, e la solitudine, la quale è misera e nojosa oltre l' altre, massimamente s' ella non è d' uomini, ma d' amici." A solitude to which all the unhappy are condemned. Letter to Monsig^r. Papio, dated Sept. 1585. Opera. vol. x. p. 313. La Vita, lib. iii. p. 133.

[1] Non mi lasciò fermar molto in un luogo
E di poeta cavallar mi feo.

Ariost. Sat. vi.

Messer Ludovico dove avete mai trovate tante fanfaluche? was the famous speech of the cardinal to Ariosto on first reading the Orlando. Hippolyto dismissed him from his service without any recompense: he had before *encouraged* the composition of the Orlando, by telling the author, " che sarebbegli stato assai più caro che avesse atteso a servirlo." See the before cited *La Vita di M. Lodovico Ariosto scritta dall' Abate Girolamo Baruffaldi Giuniore. Ferrara* MDCCCVIII.

nificence of his brother, the duke, assigned to Ariosto a pension of 21 *lire* a month, and food for three servants and two horses; a salary with which the poet would have been contented had it been paid[1]. But our historian has stepped beyond the bounds of panegyric in ascribing the Orlando to the favour of the first Alfonso[2]. The immortal poem struggled into life under the barren shade of the Cardinal Hippolyto, and the author derived no other benefit from its second appearance, under the auspices of the court of Ferrara, than the sale of a hundred copies for eight and twenty crowns[3]. The obligations of the Jerusalem Delivered to the second Alfonso, may have been already appreciated. They consisted in the seven years imprisonment of the author, and the surreptitious publication of a

lib. ii. pp. 119, 120. *lib. iii. pp.* 174. 177. The Abate, under the late government, could afford to give an honest character of this *Purple Mæcenas*—and has done it.

[1] See Ariosto Satir. ad Annibale Malaguzzo, and La Vita, &c. lib. iii. p. 184.

[2] "Ferrara may boast that in her classic ground Ariosto and Tasso lived and sung; that the lines of the Orlando Furioso, and of the Jerusalem Delivered, were inscribed in everlasting characters under the eye of the first and second Alfonso."

See Gibbon's Antiquities of the House of Brunswick, edit. cit. p. 694.

[3] La Vita di M. Lodovico Ariosto, &c. lib. iii. p. 186.

mutilated manuscript. The princes of Italy were not deficient in a fruitless deference to the claims of literature: this was the taste of the age, and they divided that merit with the accomplished highwaymen of the day[1]. They regarded a man of letters as a necessary appendage to their dignity, and a poet was the more cherished as he was the oftener employed in recording the triumphs of his protecting court. The muse was encouraged and confined to her laureate duties, and so carefully was her gratitude secured, and her recompense so exactly weighed, that the day before the Prince of Mantua obtained the liberation of Tasso, he commanded the captive to compose a copy of verses as an earnest, it should seem, of more elaborate efforts[2]. The same prince imitated the example of Alfonso in retaining the manuscripts of our poet, as a pledge for his future attachment to the house of Gonzaga; and having assigned him a small sum for his immediate exigencies, would not allow him to purchase clothes unless he would consent to wear them out in the duties of the Mantuan court.

[1] See the adventure of Ariosto with Filippo Pachione. La Vita di M. L. Ariosto, &c. lib. iii. p. 187, and that of Tasso with Marco di Sciarra. La Vita del Tasso, &c. lib. iii. p. 229. tom. ii.

[2] La Vita, &c. lib. iii. p. 144. tom. ii.

A thousand traits in the life of Tasso serve to shew that genius was considered the property, not of the individual, but his patron; and that the reward allotted for this appropriation was dealt out with jealous avarice. The author of the Jerusalem, when he was at the height of his favour at the court of Ferrara, could not redeem the covering of his body and bed, which he was obliged to leave in pledge for 13 crowns and 45 lire on accompanying the cardinal of Este to France. This circumstance appears from a testamentary document preserved in manuscript in the public library of Ferrara, which is imperfectly copied into the Life of Tasso[1], and the following letter[2] is extracted from the same collection of autographs as a singular exemplification of what has been before said of princely patronage.

My Magnificent Lord,

I send your lordship five *shirts, all of which want mending. Give them to your relation; and let him know that I do not wish them to be mixed with the others; and that he will gratify me by coming one day with you to see me.*

[1] Lib. ii. p. 171. tom. 1. Serassi had not seen the original, but copied from a copy—the list of goods in pawn is left out.

[2] At the end of these notices, will be seen the original and the other Ferrara MSS. which have never been published entirely or correctly. Dr. Black has followed some incorrect writer

In the mean while I wait for that answer which your lordship promised to solicit for me. Put your friend in mind of it. I kiss your lordship's hand.

Your very faithful servant,

Torquato Tasso.

From S. Anna, the 4th of Jan. 1585.

If you cannot come with your relation, come alone. I want to speak to you. And get the cloth washed in which the shirts are wrapped up.

To the very Magnificent Lord,
The Signor Luca Scalabrino.

Such was the condition of him who thought that, besides God, to the poet alone belonged the name of creator, and who was also persuaded, that he himself was the first Italian of that divine race[1]. Those who indulge in the

in saying that Tasso's handwriting "was small and almost illegible." [Chap. xxiv. vol. ii. pp. 344, 345.] That it was large and very legible will be seen from a fac-simile of an autograph in possession of the writer, also subjoined.

[1] "Il Tasso si levò in collera, e disse..... che il poeta era cosa divina, e i Greci il chiamano con un' attributo che si da a Dio, quasi volendo inferire, che nel mondo non ci è chi meriti il nome di creatore, che Dio e il Poeta." See La Vita, &c. lib. iii. p. 262. Monsignor de Nores asked him who he thought deserved the first place, "fra i nostri poeti mi rispose, 'al mio giudisio all' Ariosto si deve il se-

dreams of earthly retribution will observe, that the cruelty of Alfonso was not left without its recompense, even in his own person. He survived the affection of his subjects and of his dependants, who deserted him at his death, and suffered his body to be interred without princely or decent honours. His last wishes were neglected; his testament cancelled. His kinsman Don Cæsar shrank from the excommunication of the Vatican, and after a short struggle, or rather suspense, Ferrara passed away for ever from the dominion of the house of Este[1].

Stanza XXXV.

Ferrara! in thy wide and grass-grown streets.

When Tasso arrived in Ferrara, in 1565, he found the city one brilliant theatre[2]. The

condo,' e soggiungendogli io subito, 'e il primo?' Sorrise, e mi voltò le spalle, volendo credo io che intendessi, che il primo lo riserbava a sè." See La Vita, &c. lib. iii. p. 262. tom. ii.

[1] Antichità Estensi. par. ii. cap. 13 and 14.

[2] "Il Gianluca ovvero delle maschere." Opere del Tasso, Venice, 1738, vol. viii. pp. 4, 5. "—— Quando prima vidi Ferrara, e mi parve, che tutta la città fosse una maravigliosa, e non più veduta scena dipinta, e luminosa, e piena di mille forme, e di mille apparenze, e le azioni di quel tempo simili a quelle, che sono rappresentate ne' teatri con varie lingue, e con varie interlocutori."

largest streets which he saw thronged with all the forms of gaiety and splendour, are now almost untrodden, and support a few paupers in the fruitless attempt to eradicate the grass and weeds. The cutting the canal from the Reno to the Po, and the saltpetre manufactories, had begun to revive and augment the languid population. The return of the legate to the castle has confirmed the curse on the streets of Ferrara. The Ferrarese subjects of Alfonso II. must share in the disgrace attached to the imprisonment, for they contributed to the persecution of Tasso[1]. To many names now scarcely known except as having been joined in this base design, must be added those of Horatio Ariosto, great nephew of the poet, and of the more celebrated Guarini. The disordered fancies of Tasso furnished them with the excuse and with the means for his ruin. The toleration of the eccentricities of genius is more frequently found in the language than the practice of mankind: and the natural inclination to repel any assumption or supposition of exemption from the common rules of life, is not more likely

[1] "Ciò che è certo è, che in Ferrara per la malvaggia invidia cortigiana venne a formarsi contro il povero Tasso una specie di congiura," &c. La Vita del Tasso, &c. dell' Abate Pierantonio Serassi, sec. ediz. in Bergamo, 1790, lib. ii. p. 259, tom. i.

to be found in the saloons of princes, which are made up of forms and precedents, than in the lower independent classes of society. The Ferrarese appear to have carried their complaisance to their sovereigns to an unusual excess; for on the tower of the cathedral we read the following inscription.

DIVO HERCVLE SECVN DVCE IMPERANTE.

An apotheosis, for which, if their god was still alive, there is some doubt whether the slavery of Imperial Rome can furnish them with an example[1]. Now it was one of the extravagancies of Tasso to discover that haughty spirit of a gentleman and a scholar, which made him averse to flattery[2], and to that self-annihilation which is the most acceptable quality in a dependant. To this ignorance of the arts of courtly dissimulation, his biographer does not

[1] Julius Cæsar, Caligula, and Domitian, were deified during their lifetime. See the question argued in Donatus, who gives it against the DIVVS. Roma Vetus, lib. iii. cap. iv. Classical authority excused even irreligion. Bembo rejected that unity of the Deity which was repugnant to his Ciceronian latinity; and, when writing in the name of the Pope, ascribed his election to the chair of St. Peter to the favour of the "*immortal gods*," deorum immortalium beneficiis.

[2] "Quanto egli è piuttosto di sua natura altiero ed alieno da ogni termine di adulazione, che acconcio alle scurrilità cortigiane." La Vita, &c. lib. iii. p. 261. tom. ii.

hesitate to attribute his misfortunes[1], and the inference must be dishonourable to his Ferrarese competitors. It appears that Tasso was in part the victim of a household conspiracy, formed by those who were totally incapable of appreciating either his virtues or his failings; and who thought themselves interested, if they did not find, to prove him insane. For this purpose every little extravagance of action was carefully watched and noted down. Not only his words were submitted to the same charitable interpretation, but his thoughts were scrutinized, and in pursuit of the same evidence of his derangement and disaffection to his duties, his books, his papers, and his correspondence were explored in those repositories which are safe against all but domestic treachery[2]; affection for his person, and admiration for his talents, were the pretext for every proceeding against his liberty and his fame; and so far did this insulting hypocrisy proceed, that a report was industriously spread, that it was the kind resource of pity to pronounce him not guilty but mad. This rumour caused and excused the desertion of one whose relief seemed hopeless.

[1] La Vita, &c. p. 277.

[2] Ibid. lib. ii. p. 258. tom. i. Plutarch tells us that Romulus allowed only three causes of divorce, drunkenness, adultery, and *false keys*.

Remonstrance was an aggravation, concession a proof, of his delinquency. Both were unavailing, and the voice of friendship could give no other counsel than to be silent and to submit. His disaster was considered as his decease; and his cotemporaries usurped and abused the rights of posterity. Compositions, some unfinished, and none of them intended for the light, were devoted to the greedy gains of literary pirates; and on such documents, no less garbled than the representation of his actions, did his enemies proceed to judgment. These calamities would have overwhelmed guilt, and might confound innocence. But the tried affection of an only sister, the unshaken though unserviceable regard of former associates, and, more than all, his own unconquerable mind, supplied the motive and the means of resistance. He had lost the hope of mercy, he cherished the expectation of justice. This confidence preserved the principle of life; and the sensibility of misfortune gave an irresistible edge and temper to his faculties whenever his spirit emerged from distress. The rays of his genius could not dissipate, but they burst, at intervals, through the gloom of his seclusion, and his countrymen soon found that their poet, although hidden from their sight, was still high above the horizon.

Stanza LIV.

Here repose
Angelo's, Alfieri's bones, &c.

The following anecdotes of Alfieri are from an authentic source, and appear worthy record. The poet was one evening at the house of the Princess Carignani, and leaning, in one of his silent moods, against a sideboard decorated with a rich tea-service of china, by a sudden movement of his long loose tresses, threw down one of the cups. The lady of the mansion ventured to tell him that he had spoilt her set, and had better have broken them all; but the words were no sooner said, than Alfieri, without replying or changing countenance, swept off the whole service upon the floor. His hair was fated to bring another of his eccentricities into play; for, being alone at the theatre at Turin, and hanging carelessly with his head backwards over the corner of his box, a lady in the next seat on the other side of the partition, who had, on other occasions, made several attempts to attract his attention, broke into violent and repeated encomiums on his auburn locks, which were flowing down close to her hand. Alfieri spoke not a word, and continued in his posture until he left the theatre. The lady received

the next morning a parcel, the contents of which she found to be the tresses she had so much admired, and which the count had cut off close to his head. There was no billet with the present, but words could not have more clearly expostulated, "*If you like the hair, here it is, but for heaven's sake leave me alone.*"

Alfieri employed a respectable young man at Florence to assist him in his Greek translations, and the manner in which that instruction was received was not a little eccentric. The tutor slowly read aloud and translated the tragedian, and Alfieri, with his pencil and tablets in hand, walked about the room and put down his version. This he did without speaking a word, and when he found his preceptor reciting too quickly, or when he did not understand the passage, he held up his pencil,—this was the signal for repetition, and the last sentence was slowly recited, or the reading was stopped, until a tap from the poet's pencil on the table warned the translator that he might continue his lecture. The lesson began and concluded with a slight and silent obeisance, and during the twelve or thirteen months of instruction, the count scarcely spoke as many words to the assistant of his studies. The Countess of Albany, however, on receiving something like a remonstrance against this reserve, assured the young man that the

count had the highest esteem for him and his services. But it is not to be supposed that the master felt much regret at giving his last lesson to so Pythagorean a pupil. The same gentleman describes the poet as one whom he had seldom heard speak in any company, and as seldom seen smile. His daily temper depended not a little upon his favourite horse, whom he used to feed out of his hand, and ordered to be led out before him every morning. If the animal neighed, or replied to his caresses with any signs of pleasure, his countenance brightened, but the insensibility of the horse was generally followed by the dejection of the master.

The tomb of Alfieri in the Santa Croce, is one of the least successful productions of Canova. The whole monument is heavy, and projects itself into the aisle of the church more prominently than becomes the associate of the more modest but richer sepulchres of Michäel Angelo and Machiavelli. The colossal Cybele of Italy weeping over a medallion in low relief, shows the difficulty of doing justice to the mourner and the monument, and may besides be mistaken for the princess of the house of Stolberg, whose name and title have left little room on the inscription for Alfieri himself. They show a little step opposite to the monu-

ment, on which the princess herself periodically contemplates her own work and that of Canova. The grief of an amiable woman for the loss of an accomplished man, may be expected to endure; and, to say the truth, the other sex has too long wanted a "pendant" for the twice retold tale of the Ephesian matron.

Stanza LXVI.

But thou, Clitumnus, in thy sweetest wave.

The Clitumnus rises at *Le Vene di Campello*, or *di Piscignano*. In the territory of Trevi and that of Foligno, it is called the "Clitunno," and lower down in its course assumes the name of *La Timmia*. Antiquaries have been careful to measure the exact size of its original fountain, which they find to be eleven Roman palms and ten inches long, and one palm seven inches and a half wide. This source pours from beneath a blind arch in the high road from Foligno to Spoleto, half a mile from the post-house of Le Vene, and gushing into a thousand blue eddies, is soon lost in a bed of giant reeds. The peasants of the neighbourhood say that the stream has many fountains, and although nowhere in the immediate vicinity it is wider than a mill-brook, is in many places unfathomable. The Clitumnus has been sung by most of the poets from

Virgil to Claudian. The Umbrian Jupiter bore the same name; and either he or the river-god himself inspired an oracle which gave answers by lots, and which was consulted by Caligula[1]. There were festivals celebrated by the people of the neighbouring Hispellum in honour of this deity[2]. When Pliny the younger saw and described the Clitumnus, the fountain spread at once into a considerable river[3], capable of bearing two laden boats abreast[4]; but it is thought to have been shrunk by the great earthquake in 446, which shook Constantinople for six months, and was violently felt in many parts of Italy. The "glassy Fucine lake, the sea-green Anio, the sulphureous Nar, the clear Faberis, and the turbid Tyber," are, with the cold Clitumnus, known to have been affected by this tremendous convulsion[5]. Hence, perhaps, the holes which are said to be unfathomable. It has, however,

[1] Sueton. in Vita Calig.

[2] Gori. Mus. Etrus. tom. ii. p. 66. "Clitumnalia sacra apud Hispellates in ejus honorem celebrata fuisse, constat auctoritate hujus vetustæ aræ, eidem dedicata, quæ inter Gudianas vulgata est." Edit. Florent. 1737.

[3] "Fons adhuc et jam amplissimum flumen." Epist. ad Romanum, lib. viii. epist. viii.

[4] "Naveis tamen ne heic intelligas majores sed scaphas tantum." P. Cluverii Italiæ Antiquæ, lib. ii. cap. 10. tom. 1. p. 702. edit. Elzev.

[5] Sidon. Apollinar. lib. i. epist. 5.

been always honourably mentioned amongst the rivers of Italy[1]; and if the little temple on its banks was not thrown down, the effects of the earthquake could not have been very important. With respect to this temple, now a church, dedicated to the Saviour, which is seen a few paces before you come to the principal source, some doubts have been entertained of its antiquity by a late English traveller, who is very seldom sceptical out of place[2]. Fabretti, in his inscriptions[3], had before asserted that it had been built from ancient fragments by the Christians, who baptized it, sculptured the grapes on the tympanum, and added the steps. Mr. Forsyth's objection can, however, in this instance, perhaps be removed by the mention of a fact with which he appears to have been unacquainted. The inside of the temple described by Pliny was "bescratched with the nonsense of an album," and of this record no vestiges were seen by our acute traveller: they could not, for the whole

[1] Boccaccio de Flum. in verb. Clitum. "Clitumnus Umbriæ fluvius apud Mevaniam et Spoletum defluens, ex quo (ut quidam volunt,) si confertim postquam concepit bos bibat; album pariet. Quam ob rem Romani magnas hostias Jovi immolaturi ad hunc locum per albis tauris mittebant. Hunc alii fontem alii lacum dicunt" in fin. Lib. de geneal. deorum. edit. Princ.

[2] Remarks on Italy, &c. p. 320. Sec. edit.

[3] Inscrip. p. 38. See Osservazioni, &c. p. 61. ut inf.

of the interior of the chapel is allowed to have been modernized when the altar niche was added at the conversion of the structure, and any ancient remnants then left within were carried away when it was reduced to its present appearance in the middle of the last century. The sculpture of the columns, singular as it is, can scarcely be made a valid objection. Palladio calls it most delicate and beautifully various[1], and if what appears in his drawings vine leaves, be in reality, as Venuti asserts[2], and as they seem to be, fish scales, the workmanship may have some allusion to the river god. The above great architect saw this temple entire, and made five designs of it[3]. What remains, which is only the western portico and the exterior of the cell, is certainly a part of the temple seen by him, and called by Cluverius one of the Fanes of Jupiter Clitumnus[4]. It appears the Fane preserved the form

[1] "Lavorate delicatissimamente e con bella varietà d'intagli." Ichonog. de' Temp. lib. iv. p. 2. cap. 25. del tempio ch' è sotto Trevi. Tom. vi. p. 10. Ven. 1745. The plates are not at all recognizable.

[2] Osservazioni sopra il fiume Clitumno, dall' Abate Ridolpho Venuti, Cortonese, a Roma, 1753.

[3] See Ichonog. ut sup.

[4] P. Cluverii Italiæ Antiquæ, ut sup. Sacraria ista nulla alia fuêre, nisi quæ ab initio ad varios Clitumni fontes variis Jovis Clitumni nominibus numinibusque posita, ea haud dubie

copied by Palladio down to 1730, when an earthquake broke off a piece of the cornice, and even in 1739 it had not been reduced to the ruin in which Venuti saw it, and which seems to differ but little from its present condition[1]. The chapel belonged formerly to the community of Trevi, but about the year 1420 they lost it together with the castle of Piscignano, and it became a simple ecclesiastical benefice of ten or twelve crowns annual rent attached to the Dateria at Rome. In 1730 it was intrusted to a brother Hilarion, who, under the pretext of repairing it, made a bargain with Benedetti bishop of Spoleto, to furnish him with a portion of the columns and marbles for three and twenty crowns. The community of Piscignano opposed this spoliation for some time, and an order was even procured from Pope Clement XII. to prevent it. But Monsignore Ancajani, then bishop of Spoleto, confirmed the sale, laughed at the injunction, and said the marbles were but *old stones*[2]; consequently the hermit, brother Paul, who had been left by

postea in Christianæ religionis usum conversa. His annotator Holstenius also believed it most ancient, Annot. ad Cluv. Geog. pag. 123.

[1] "La facciata che vedesi verso Ponente è l'unica che sia rimasta illesa dal furore degl' ignoranti." See ut sup. pag. 45.

[2] Quale se ne rise, dicendo essere *sassacci*, e seguito il frate a demolire e portar via. See Osservazioni, ut sup.

Hilarion, fell to work, demolished great part of the porticoes, and sold four of the columns for eighteen crowns to the Signore Fontani of Spoleto, who used them in building a family chapel in the Philippine church of that town[1]. In 1748 the same brother Paul, looking for a fancied treasure, broke his way through the interior of the chapel, and tore up part of the subterranean cell, of which pious researches there are the marks at this day. Whatever remained of marble in the inside of the structure was then carried away, and it was with much difficulty that the remaining portico was saved from the hands of the hermit[2]. The reader is requested to bear in mind this transaction of two bishops and two holy brothers, executed in spite of the most respectable opposition in the middle of the last century. It may assist his

[1] "Distruttore di questa fabbrica è stato un certo Eremita Chiamato Fra Paolo, che le ha vendute (4 colonne) per soli diecidotto scudi ai Fontanini di Spoleto, che se ne sono serviti per fare una loro cappella in onore di St. Filippo." Lettera MS. del conte Giacomo Valenti, ap. Venut. osservazioni, &c. page 49.

[2] "... and the statue of the god (the Clitumnus) has yielded its place to the triumphant cross. This circumstance is rather fortunate, as to it the temple owes its preservation." Classical Tour through Italy, chap. ix. tom. 1. p. 321. 3d edit. Mr. Eustace was innocent of all knowledge of the above fact: otherwise, though a zealous crusader, he would not have stuck his triumphant cross on the Clitumnus.

conjectures when he comes to estimate the probable merits of the Christian clergy who are said to have been so instrumental during the dark ages in preserving the relics of Rome. The Abate of Cortona talks with indignation of the offence[1], and concludes with a prayer to Benedict the Fourteenth to recover the pillage, and replace the columns and marbles on their ancient base. Indeed the spoilers were guilty not only of a crime against the antiquary, but of sacrilege. Clitumnus could not be expected to deter brother Hilarion and brother Paul, but the name of our Saviour might. Benedict the Fourteenth did not listen to the Abate, and we see the temple as it was left by the honest hermit.

It should seem then that the little portico and the form at least of the cell belong to an ancient temple, and probably to that of the Clitumnus, if not to one of the many chapels which were near the principal fane[2]. There were formerly vestiges of two other small ancient structures[3], which had not entirely disappeared when Venuti wrote, and had given to

[1] " E quello non hanno fatto i Goti nelle incursione, l'hanno fatto quelli, che non s'intendono d'antichità. Osservazioni, &c. ut sup.

[2] " Sparsa sunt circa sacella complura." Plin. epist. &c.

[3] Holstenius Annot. ad Geog. Cluv. pag. 123.

a spot above the church the name *ad sacraria.* The counts Valenti di Trevi found also the statue of a river god near the chapel, and placed it in their collection. Add to this that the names[1] still seen on the roof of the subterranean cell belonged probably to those who had consulted the oracle, and that there can be no doubt of the antiquity of that *adytus,* although it is half blocked up and defaced by the excavations of brother Paul. The cypress grove which shaded the hill above the source of the river has disappeared, but the water still preserves the ancient property of producing some of the finest trout to be met with in Italy.

Stanza LXXVII.

Yet fare thee well; upon Soracte's ridge we part.

The pilgrim may take leave of Horace upon Soracte; not so the antiquary, who pursues him to the city and country, to Rome and Tivoli, and hunts him through the windings of the Sabine valley, till he detects him pouring forth his flowers over the glassy margin of his Bandusian fount. Before, however, the discreet traveller girds himself for such a tour, he is requested to

[1] T. SEPTIMIVS BIDIA. L. F.
PLEBEIVS POLLA

The temple of the oracle of Memnon in Upper Egypt was full of such inscriptions. See Osservazioni, &c. page 56.

lay aside all modern guide books, and previously to peruse a French work called "Researches after the house of Horace." This will undeceive him as to the Bandusian fountain, which he is not to look for in the Sabine valley, but on the Lucano-Appulian border where Horace was born.

—— Lucanus an Appulus anceps.

The vicissitude which placed a priest on the throne of the Cæsars has ordained that a bull of Pope Paschal the second should be the decisive document in ascertaining the site of a fountain which inspired an ode of Horace[1]. The traveller must not be alarmed at the three or four volumes which compose these researches after a single house: the establishment of identity in these cases is absolutely necessary even as a basis for the enthusiasm of which classical recollections are the cause, or at least the excuse. The fixing localities and determining the

1 Confirmamus siquidem vobis Cænobium ipsum et omnia, quæ ad illud pertinent, monasteria sive cellas cum suis pertinentiis: videlicet Ecclesiam S. Salvatoris cum aliis ecclesiis de Castello *Bandusii*. The bull is addressed to the Abbot *Monasterii Bantini* in *Apulia Acheruntia*, and enumerating the churches, goes on, *Ecclesiam* sanctorum martyrum Gervasii et Protasii *in Bandusino fonte apud Venusiam*. The date of the bull is May 22, 1103. [See Bullarium Romanum, Paschalis, P. P. secundus, num. xvii. tom. ii. pag. 123, edit. Roma, 1739.]

claims of those antiquities whose chief interest is derived from the story attached to them, is generally supposed the peculiar province of dull plodding writers: but as the man most willing to give scope to his imagination would hardly choose to have any other foundation for his feeling than truth, and as he would be incensed at having been entrapped by an ignorant enthusiastic declaimer into an admiration of objects whose authenticity may be questioned by the first cool examinant, it is but fair that he should accept the labours of the professed topographer and antiquary with their due share of complacency and praise. The common opinion that blind belief is the most convenient *viaticum* is contradicted by the experience of every traveller in Italy. He who begins his journey with such entire confidence in common fame and common guide books, must have the conviction of imposture and mistake forced upon him at every turn. He is likely then to slide into the contrary extreme, and, if he is averse to all previous examination, will subside at last into complete scepticism and indifference. We may apply a literal sense to the words of Erasmus in praise of Italy. "*In that country the very walls are more learned and more eloquent than our men*[1]." But the immense variety of

[1] Lib. 1. epist. 4. to Rob. Fisher.

antiquarian objects, the innumerable details of historical topography belonging to every province, the national inclination to fable, and, it may be said, to deception, suggest themselves to every considerate traveller, and induce him to a caution and reserve which, with wonders less multiplied and guides more faithful, he might deem superfluous and embarrassing. A very little experience is sufficient to convince him how small is the proportion of those antiquities whose real character has been entirely ascertained. From his first view of Soracte he rapidly advances upon Rome, the approach to which soon brings him upon debateable ground. At Civita Castellana he will find himself amongst the Veians when in the market-place of Leo the Tenth, but going on the town bridge he is told by Pius the Sixth that he is at Falerium. After he has caught the first view of St. Peter's from the height beyond Baccano, he hopes that the remaining fifteen miles may furnish him at every other step with some sign of his vicinity to Rome: he palpitates with expectation, and gazes eagerly on the open undulating dells and plains, fearful lest a fragment of an aqueduct, a column, or an arch, should escape his notice.

Gibbets garnished with black withered limbs, and a monk in a vetturino's chaise, may remind him that he is approaching the modern capital;

but he descends into alternate hollows, and winds up hill after hill with nothing to observe except the incorrectness of the last book of travels, which will have talked to him of the flat, bare, dreary waste he has to pass over before arriving at the *Eternal* City. At last, however, he is stopped at a sarcophagus, and told to look at *the tomb of Nero:* a hardy falsehood, which may prepare him for the misnomers of the city itself, but which, notwithstanding the name of C. VIBIVS MARIANVS is cut upon the stone, was so exactly suited to the taste and learning of the president Dupaty, that he pointed a period of his favourite starts and dashes, with this epigram, on the approach to ruined Rome, "*c'est le tombeau de Neron qui l'annonce*[1]."

Stanza LXXVIII.

O Rome! my country, city of the soul.

The downs which the traveller has passed after leaving Monterosi, sink into green shrubby dells as he arrives within five or six miles of Rome. The Monte Mario stretches forward its high woody platform on the right. The distant plain of the Tyber and the Campagna,

[1] The writer having thrown the book in the fire cannot quote chapter and verse for this nonsense, but it is to be found in Dupaty's travels.

to the left, is closed by the Tiburtine and Alban hills. In the midst Rome herself, wide spreading from the Vatican to the pine-covered Pincian, is seen at intervals so far apart as to appear more than a single city. Arrived at the banks of the Tyber, he does not find the muddy insignificant stream which the disappointments of overheated expectations have described it, but one of the finest rivers in Europe, now rolling through a vale of gardens, and now sweeping the base of swelling acclivities clothed with wood, and crowned with villas and their evergreen shrubberies. The gate of the city is seen immediately on crossing the river at the end of a vista two miles in length; and the suburb is not composed of mean dwellings, but a fine road with a wide pavement passes between the walls of vineyards and orchards, with here and there neat summer-houses, or arched gateways rising on either hand, and becoming more freuqent with the nearer approach to the city. The Flaminian gate, although it is thought unworthy of Rome and Michäel Angelo, will content those who are not fastidious. An entrance, not an arch of triumph, is sufficient for the modern capital. The stranger, when within that gate, may ascend at once by the new road winding up the Pincian mount, and enjoy from that eminence the view of a city, which, whatever may be

the faults of its architectural details, is, when seen in the mass, incomparably the handsomest in the world [1]. The pure transparent sky above him will seem made, as it were, to give brilliancy to the magnificent prospect below. The new climate will indeed add much to his delight, for although amongst those branches of the Apennines which approach within forty miles of the city, he may have been chilled by the rigours of a Lombard sky, he is no sooner in the plain of the Tyber, than his spirits expand in an atmosphere, which, in many seasons, preserves an unsullied lustre and exhilarating warmth from the rains of autumn to the tempests of the vernal equinox. What has been said and sung of the tepid winter of Italy, is not intelligible to the north of Rome; but in that divine city, for some transport may be allowed to the recollection of all its attractions, we assent to the praises of Virgil, and feel his poetry to have spoken the language of truth.

"Hic ver assiduum atque alienis mensibus æstas."

This must have been written at Rome. The banks of his frozen Mincio would have inspired

[1] Donatus prefers the site, the streets, and as far as the church of St. Peter's is considered, the edifices of the modern to those of the ancient city. Roma Vetus, lib. i. cap. 29. The town is much improved since the time of Urban VIII. to whom Donatus dedicated his work.

no such rapture[1]. But not the superb structures of the modern town, nor the happy climate, have made Rome the country of every man and "the city of the soul." The education which has qualified the traveller of every nation for that citizenship which is again become, in one point of view, what it once was, the portion of the whole civilized world, prepares for him at Rome enjoyments independent of the city and inhabitants about him, and of all the allurements of site and climate. He will have already peopled the banks of the Tyber with the shades of Pompey, Constantine, and Belisarius, and the other heroes of the Milvian bridge. The first footstep within the venerable walls will have shewn him the name and the magnificence of Augustus, and the three long narrow streets branching from this obelisk, like the theatre of Palladio, will have imposed upon his fancy with an air of antiquity congenial to the soil. Even the mendicants of the country asking alms in Latin prayers, and the vineyard gates of the suburbs inscribed with the ancient language, may be allowed to contribute to the agreeable delusion. Of the local sanctity which belongs

[1] Rome had fallen when Rutilius said of her climate,

Vere tuo nunquam mulceri desinit annus
Deliciasque tuas victa tueter hyems.

Cl. Rut. Num. Iter.

to Athens, Rome, and Constantinople, the two first may be thought to possess, perhaps, an equal share. The latter is attractive chiefly for that site which was chosen for the retreat and became the grave of empire. The Greek capital may be more precious in the eyes of the artist, and, it may be, of the scholar, but yields to the magnitude, the grandeur, and variety of the Roman relics. The robe of the Orientals has spread round Athens an air of antique preservation, which the European city and the concourse of strangers have partially dispelled from Rome. But the required solitude may be occasionally found amongst the vaults of the Palatine, or the columns of the great Forum itself. Ancient and modern Rome are linked together like the dead and living criminals of Mezentius. The present town may be easily forgotten amidst the wrecks of the ancient metropolis; and a spectator on the tower of the capitol may turn from the carnival throngs of the Corso, to the contiguous fragments of the old city, and not behold a single human being. The general effect of such a prospect may be felt by any one; and ignorance may be consoled by hearing that a detailed examination must be made the study rather of a life than of a casual visit.

Stanza LXXVIII.

Come and see
The cypress, hear the owl, and plod your way
O'er steps of broken thrones and temples.

The traveller who is neither very young nor very incurious, may enquire what previous instruction or present guides will enable him to understand the history as well as to feel the moral effect of "these broken thrones and temples." To this question no satisfactory answer can be given. The earlier notices of the Roman antiquities abound with errors, which might be expected from the infancy of a study requiring so much discretion. Petrarch, who was himself an antiquary, and presented a collection of gold and silver medals to the Emperor Charles IV. in 1354, called the pyramid of Cestius, the tomb of Remus; and Poggio, who is surprised at such an error[1], has indulged in exaggerations which very much reduce the value of his lamentation over the fallen city. The ill-tempered Florentine has also told us what to expect from his cotemporary Ciriacus of Ancona, whose forty days ride in Rome, with his tablets in hand, has procured for him no better

[1] De fortunæ varietate urbis Romæ et de ruinis ejusdem descriptio. Ap. Sallengre Nov. Thesaur. Antiq. Roman. Venet. 1735, tom. i. p. 501.

names than an impostor and a dunce[1]. Flavius Blondus, who dedicated to the patron of this latter writer, to Eugenius IV., contented himself with a description rather of the ancient city, and hazarded so few conjectures on its comparative topography, that he owns he could hardly discover the seven hills on the most minute inspection[2]. When less doubtful, he is not less erroneous, and, amongst other instances, may be selected his assertion that Theodoric permitted the Romans to employ the stones of the Coliseum for the repair of the city walls[3]. In the end of the same century (XVth), Pomponius Lætus made a collection of antiques on the Quirinal, and distinguished himself in exploring the ruins; but the forgery of the inscription to Claudian[4] renders the authority of the restorer of the drama more than suspected. Sa-

[1] See an account of him in Tiraboschi. Storia della Lett. tom. vi. par. i. lib. i. p. 264 et seq. edit. Venet. 1795. He rode on a white horse, lent him by Cardinal Condolmieri, afterwards Eugenius IV. Tiraboschi defends Ciriacus.

[2] Roma instaurata, edit. Taurin. 1527, in a collection, lib. i. fol. 14.

[3] Ibid. lib. iii. fol. 33. See note on the Coliseum.

[4] Claudian had a statue in the forum of Trajan, but the inscription was composed by Pomponius Lætus. See Tiraboschi Storia, &c. tom. ii. lib. iv. It imposed on all the antiquaries, and was believed even by Nardini. See Roma

bellico Peutinger, and Andreas Fulvius, both of the school of Lætus, will throw little light on a survey of Rome. The character of Marlianus may be given from his annotator Fulvius Ursinus[1]. He does not treat frequently of the modern town, and dispatches the curiosities of the capitol in twenty lines. The arbitrary rashness which displeased Ursinus is, however, shewn in instances more decisive than the one selected by his annotator. Lucius Faunus is occasionally quoted by later writers, and generally for the

Antic. lib. v. cap. ix. Considerable caution is requisite even at this time in reading inscriptions either on the spot or copied. That on the horse of Aurelius was written at a venture, when that monument was transported from the Lateran to the capitol, in 1538, by Paul III.

Faunus, Gruter, Pagi, Smetius, Desgodetz, Piranesi, gave an incorrect copy of the inscription on the Pantheon. Marlianus, Faunus, and Nardini, have done the same by the inscription on the Temple of Concord. See the Abate Fea's dissertation on the ruins of Rome at the end of his translation of Winckelman's Storia delle arti, &c. tom. iii. pp. 294. 298.

[1] Fulvius is angry with Marlianus for placing the temple of Jupiter Tonans near the Clivus Capitolinus, but it is placed there again by the antiquaries of our own day. "Atque fortasse minus est admirandum quod ita factus est homo hic ut arbitratu suo temere omnia tractet." See Marliani urbis Romæ topographia, ap. Græv. Antiq. Roman. tom. iii. lib. ii. cap. 3. p. 141. note 3. Marlianus dedicated his treatise to Francis I. whom he styles *liberator Romæ*.

sake of correcting his errors[1]. The studious but unlearned Ligorius, the erudite obscure Panvinius, have received their estimation from Montfaucon[2]. Pancirolus does not attempt to be a modern guide, and Fabricius, where he runs into the contrary extreme, and gives ancient names to disputed remnants, is to be admired only for the boldness of his conjecture[3]. Donatus and Nardini are indeed of a very superior quality, and the last is to this day the most serviceable conductor. The exception made in their favour by the more modern writers, is not however unqualified[4]. Montfaucon, in the end

[1] De Antiq. urb. Romæ. ap. Sallengre. Nov. Thesaur. &c. tom. i. p. 217.

[2] Diarium Italicum, edit. Paris, 1702, cap. 20. p. 279. "Sequitur Onuphrius Panvinius, qui omnes quotquot antea scripserunt eruditis suis lucubrationibus obscuravit." He is given in the third vol. of Grævius.

[3] They are both to be found in the third vol. of Grævius. Descriptio urbis Romæ. Descriptio Romæ, p. 402. George Fabricius wrote in 1550. Panvinius dedicated his description of Rome, which he added to the old regionaries, to the Emperor Ferdinand, in 1558. Fabricius himself mentions some early writers in his first chapter, and lays down a useful canon. "In cognoscendis autem urbis antiquitatibus sermo vulgi audiendus non est."

[4] "E quibus, (that is, all the early topographers) si hos binos posteriores exceperis, nemo est, qui in turpes errores non impegerit, quamquam nec isti quidem immunes sint." Jul.

of the XVIIth century, found them and many others who had passed nearly their whole lives in attempting a description of the city, far from satisfactory[1]; and neither he nor his cotemporaries supplied the deficiency. A hundred years have not furnished the desired plan of the city. Detached monuments have been investigated with some success; and whenever Visconti has shone out, we have had reason "to bless the useful light." But whoever should attempt a general view of the subject, would have to brush away the cobwebs of erudition, with which even the modern discoveries are partially obscured. Venuti hardly deserves the praise conferred upon him by our most intelligent modern traveller[2]. His style and argument are in many places such as not to allow of his being divined, and he generally leaves us,

Minutuli, dissertatio iii. de urbis Romæ topographia. Syllabus auctorum, ap. Sallengre Supp., &c. p. 40.

[1] Montfaucon says of Donatus, "quamvis plura prætermittat quam scribit." Of Nardini, "laudatum opus a laudatis viris," but "videturque sane nihil pensi habere, dum dubia et difficultates perpetuo injiciat, ubi ne vel umbra difficultatis fuerit." Diarium Italicum, &c. cap. 20. p. 281. edit. Paris, 1702.

[2] Mr. Forsyth, after touching on the inadequacy of former topographers, as general guides, says, "*Venuti has sifted this farrago.*" If he has, the chaff flies in our eyes. Remarks, &c. on Italy, p. 129. sec. edit.

even when most positive, to balance doubts and choose between difficulties. If the Abbé Barthelemy had pursued his original plan of writing an Italian Anacharsis for the age of Leo X., he might have been more useful at Rome than he is in Greece. As it is, the Abbe's cursory but learned observations are distinguished by the quotation of a very singular document, the original of which has never been found[1], and his ingenious countrymen had not extended their literary empire to the illustration of sites and monuments in their rival Italy, until their political dominion had embraced the soil itself. Our own writers, with the exception of Mr. Forsyth, whose sketch makes us regret the loss

[1] It refers to the Coliseum, and will be remarked in its proper place. See Mem. de l'academie des belles lettres, tom. xxviii. pp. 519. 599. A separate volume has been printed.

Mr. Millin has published four volumes on Upper Italy, (Voyage en Savoie, en Piemont, à Nice et à Gènes, 1816; and Voyage dans le Milanais à Plaisance, Parme, &c. 1817.) and is to continue his work down to the straits of Messina, and into Calabria. He should be warned that he is charged by the Italians with never having been in some of the spots he describes as a spectator. His compilation does not apply to present appearances. It is as clear that he never has been at Parma, as that Bonaparte was at the battle of Lodi, which, by the account given by this conserver of the king's medals, it would appear he was not. See Voyage dans le Milanais, &c. pp. 57, 58. chap. xvi.

of the taste and learning he might have brought to bear on a regular survey, have done nothing in this laborious line, absolutely nothing. The last of them seems to have thought it of little importance that the capitol was ever inhabited by any others than the monks of Ara cœli, or that the court of Augustus preceded that of the Popes. The insufficiency of all latter labours, and the necessity of some new guide, may be collected from the expedient at last adopted of republishing Nardini[1]. What has been said of the embarrassment of a stranger at Rome, must appear more singular when it is recollected, that besides the casual efforts of natives and foreigners, there is an archæological society constantly at work upon the antiquities of the city and neighbourhood, and that not a few persons of liberal education are in the exercise of a lucrative profession, having for object the instruction and conduct of travellers amidst the wrecks of the old town and the museums of the new.

[1] It has been undertaken by Mr. Nibby, a respectable young man, one of the professional antiquaries of Rome, who is likewise employed on a translation of Pausanias. The volume on the Basilica of St. Paul, under the name of Monsignor Niccolai, is by this gentleman.

Stanza LXXX.

The Goth, the Christian, &c.

A comment on these verses will naturally embrace some remarks on the various causes of the destruction of Rome, a subject on which, it is said with the utmost deference, the last chapter of our great historian has furnished a hasty outline rather than the requisite details[1]. The

[1] Let it not be thought presumptuous to say that this last chapter should have been his first composition, written while his memory was freshly stamped with the image of the ruins which inspired his immortal labours. In the present case his researches do not bear the mark of having been at all corrected by his Italian travels; and indeed, in more than one instance, his erudition has completely effaced his experience. It is not meant to attach undue importance to trifles, but an author, whose accuracy was his pride, and who is generally allowed to have descended to the minutest details, particularly in topography, might hardly be expected to have made the following mistake: "*The Roman ambassadors were introduced to the tent of Attila as he lay encamped at the place where the slow winding Mincius is lost in the foaming Benacus, and trampled with his Scythian cavalry the farms of Catullus and Virgil;*" and below, note 63, "*The Marquis Maffei* (*Verona illustrata, part i. pp. 95, 129, 221, part ii. pp. 2—6.*) *has illustrated with taste and learning this interesting topography. He places the interview of Attila and St. Leo near Ariolica or Ardelica, now Peschiera, at the conflux of the lake and the river.*" Decline and Fall, cap. xxxv. p. 181. tom. vi. oct. Extraordinary! The Mincius flows *from* the Benacus at Peschiera, not *into* it. The country is on a de-

enquiry has partaken of the fate of all disputed points. The exculpation of the Goths and Vandals has been thought prejudicial to the Christians, and the praise of the latter regarded as an injustice to the barbarians; but, forgetting the controversy and following the order prescribed in the cited verse, perhaps we shall find both the one and the other to have been more active despoilers than has been confessed by their mutual apologists.

A learned Tuscan, the friend of Tasso, wrote

scent the whole way from the Veronese hills, according to the quotation from Virgil cited by Mr. Gibbon himself:

——— qua se subducere colles,
Incipiunt.

More strange still is the reference to Maffei, who, so far from alluding to a conflux of the river and lake, says at the close of the very sentence respecting the interview between Attila and St. Leo, "Chi scrisse il luogo di così memorabil fatto essere stato *ove sbocca il Mincio nel Po*, d'autore antico non ebbe appoggio." Verona illustrata, parte i. p. 424. Verona 1732. The other references, parte ii. p. 8, 10, 11, of the same edition, say nothing of the course of the river. It is just possible Mr. Gibbon thought Maffei meant to deny that the Mincio fell into the Po: but at all events he might have seen at Peschiera that it runs through sluices out of the Benacus. Maffei, however, in another place actually mentions the *outlet* of the lake into the Mincio: "*Peschiera all' esito del lago sul Mincio.*" Veron. illust. par. iii. p. 510. edit. cit.

a treatise expressly on this subject, and positively asserted that from Alaric to Arnulphus no damage was done by the barbarians to any of the public edifices of Rome[1]. He owned that such an opinion would appear paradoxical, and so indeed will it be found after a cursory survey, and even as he treats the enquiry. It is certain that Alaric did burn a part of Rome. Orosius[2], by making the comparison between the former great fires and that of the Goths, shews that such a comparison might be suggested by the magnitude of the latter calamity. He adds also that after the people were returned the conflagration had left its traces, and in re-

[1] Angelio Pietro da Barga *de privatorum publicorumque ædificiorum urbis Romæ eversoribus epistola ad Petrum Usimbardum*, &c. Ap. Græv. Antiq. Roman. tom. iv. p. 1870. Edit. Venet. 1732. "sed tamen quod ad publicorum ædificiorum et substructionum ruinas pertinet nihil omnino incommodi passa est."

[2] "Tertia die Barbari, quam ingressi fuerint urbem, sponte discedunt, facto quidem aliquantarum ædium incendio, sed ne tanto quidem, quantum septingesimo conditionis ejus anno casus effecerat." He compares the Gallic and Neronic fires, and says they were greater than the Gothic. Hist. Lib. vii. cap. xxxix. "Cujus rei quamvis recens memoria sit, tum si quis ipsius populi Romani et multitudinem videat et vocem audiat, nihil factum, sicut ipsi etiam fatentur, arbitrabitur, nisi aliquantis adhuc existentibus ex incendio ruinis forte doceatur." Lib. vii. cap. xl.

lating the partial destruction of the Forum by lightning, makes it appear that the brazen beams and the mighty structures which were then consumed would have fallen by the hands and flames of the barbarians, had they not been too massive for human force to overthrow[1]. It should be remembered that the supposed piety redeemed the actual violence of the Goths, and that respect for the vessels of St. Peter's shrine made Orosius almost the apologist of Alaric.

The lamentations of St. Jerome are too loud to allow us to suppose the calamity did not affect the buildings[2]. He calls the city "the sepulchre of the Roman people," and particularizes that "the walls were half destroyed[3]."

More confidence might be attached to his account of the ruin and restoration of Rome,

[1] "Quippe cum supra humanas vires esset, incendere æneas trabes, et subruere magnarum moles structurarum, ictu fulminum Forum cum imaginibus variis, quæ superstitione miserabili vel deum vel hominem mentiuntur, abjectum est: horumque omnium abominamentorum quod immissa per hostem flamma non adiit, missus e cœlo ignis evertit." Lib. ii. cap. 15.

[2] See Epist. cxxvii. ad Principiam; Epist. cxxiii. ad Agruchiam. pp. 953—909. tom. i. Hieron. Opera. Veron. 1734.

[3] "*Urbs tua quondam orbis caput Romani populi sepulchrum est* ——— *Semiruta urbis Romanæ mœnia.*" Epist. cxxx. ad Demetriadem, p. 974. tom. 1.

if he had not attributed the latter to the profession of virginity by a single noble lady[1].

In subsequent times we find the strongest expressions applied to the sack of Rome by Alaric. Pope Gelasius in a letter to the senator Andromachus (A.D. 496) has the words "when Alaric *overturned* the city[2]."

Procopius[3] confines the fire to the quarter near the Salarian gate; but adds that the Goths ravaged the whole city. The despoiling edifices of ornaments, many of which must have been connected with their structure, could not fail to hasten their decay.

Marcellinus mentions that a part of Rome was burnt, and delays the departure of the barbarians to the sixth day[4].

[1] He says the victory of Marcellus at Nola did not so raise the spirits of the Romans, afflicted by the battles of Trebia, Thrasymene, and Cannæ, as this vow of chastity: "Tunc lugubres vestes Italia mutavit, et semiruta urbis mœnia, pristinam ex parte recepere fulgorem." Epist. cxxx. ut sup.

[2] "Cum urbem Alaricus evertit." See Baronii Annales Ecclesiast. cum critice Pagi, ad an. 496. tom. viii. pag. 605. Lucæ 1740.

[3] Οἱ δὲ τὰς τε δικλίας ἐνέπρησαν, αἳ τῆς πύλης ἄχχιστα ἦσαν· ἣν αἳς ἂν καὶ ἡ σαλουστίου, του ῥωμαίοις τὸ παλαιὸν τὴν ἱστορίαν γράψαντος· ἧς δὴ τὰ πλεῖστα ἡμίκαυτα καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔστηκε· τήν τε πόλιν ὅλην λῃσάμενοι, καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς πλείστους διαφθείραντες, πρόσω ἐχώρουν. Procop. Bell. Vand. Lib. i. pag. 93. Edit. Hœschelii. Aug.

[4] "Alaricus trepidam urbem Romam invasit, partemque

Cassiodorus[1], a much better and earlier authority in every respect than the three last writers, assures us that "many of the wonders of Rome were burnt." Olympiodorus talks only[2] of the infinite quantity of wealth which Alaric carried away; but we may collect from him also how great was the disaster when he tells us, that on the repeopling of the city fourteen thousand returned in one day.

The Gothic historian who says that fire was not put to the town is no evidence, being directly contradicted by the above quoted and other authorities[3].

The words of the ecclesiastical historians are of strong import: one of them talks of fire and the city lying in ruins[4]; another repeats the

ejus cremavit incendio, sextaque die quam ingressus fuerat depredata urbe egressus est." Chronic. ap. Sirmond Opera Varia, tom. ii. pag. 274. Venet.

[1] "Romam venerunt, quam vastantes, plurima quidem miraculorum ejus igne concremaverunt." Hist. Ecclesiast. Tripar. Lib. xi. cap. 9. pag. 368. tom. 1. Rothomagi 1679.

[2] Ἐξ ἧς χρήματά τε ἄπειρα ἐξεκόμισε. Ap. Phot. Bibliot. edit. Rothomag. 1653. pag. 180. Albinus wished to restore the city, but people were wanting, p. 188.

[3] "Ad postremum Romam ingressi Alarico jubente spoliant tantum, non autem, ut solent gentes, ignem supponunt, nec locis sanctorum in aliquo penitus injuriam irrogari patiuntur." Jornandes de reb. Get. cap. xxx. p. 85, 86. Lugd. Bat. 1697.

[4] Καὶ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν τῆς τοσαύτης δόξης τὸ μέγεθος, καὶ τὸ τῆς

expression of Cassiodorus that many of the wonders were destroyed[1]; and a third that the Basilica of St. Peter's was alone spared from the universal rapine[2].

That the city partially recovered itself is of course to be allowed. Albinus was active in his attempts at restoration, and the poet Rutilius, who was prefect in 417, not only extols the uninjured remains of antiquity, but prophesies the repair of every ruin[3]. But the whole of his beautiful verses are an hyperbole. He says that Brennus only delayed the chastisement that awaited him, that Pyrrhus was at last defeated, and that Hannibal wept his success; therefore the downfall of Alaric might be safely foretold. The blazing temples of the capitol, the aerial aqueducts, the marble sheltered groves, might still be praised; but he confesses that Rome

δυνάμεως περιώνυμον, ἀλλόφυλον πῦρ καὶ ξίφος πολέμιον, καὶ ἀϊχμαλώσια κατεμερίζετο βάρβαρος. ἐν ἐρειπίοις δὲ τῆς πόλεως κειμένης Αλάριχος.... Philostorgii Eccl. Hist. Lib. xii. Ap. Phot. Bibliot. num. 3. pag. 534. tom. ii. edit. ut sup.

[1] Τέλος τὲ τὴν Ρώμην κατέλαβον καὶ πορθήσαντες ἀυτὴν τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τῶν θαυμαστῶν ἐκείνων θεαμάτων κατέκαυσαν. Socrat. Hist. Ecclesias. Lib. vii. cap. x. p. 283.

[2] Sozomen, Hist. Ecclesias. Lib. ix. cap. 9.

[3] "Astrorum flammæ renovent occasibus ortus
Lunam finiri cernis ut incipiat."
Cl. Rut. Num. Iter.

had suffered that which would have *dissolved* another empire[1]; his prophecies of repair were those of a poet, and the ruins of the palace of Sallust remained to contradict them in the time of Procopius[2].

The injury done by Genserick (A. D. 455) was not so great as that of the Goths, and Da Barga dispatches his invasion in a few sentences. Jornandes, however, applies the expression *devastation* to his entry[3]. All the writers[4] are of ac-

[1] Illud te reparat quod cætera regna resolvit
Ordo renascendi est crescere posse malis.
Claud. Rutilii. Numant. Iter. ver. 140.

[2] Bell. Vandal. in loc. cit.

[3] "Quod audiens Gizericus rex Vandalorum, ab Africâ armata classe in Italiam venit, Romamque ingressus cuncta devastat." Jornand. de reb. Get. cap. 45. pag. 417. sub fin. Cassiod. oper. fol. 1679.

[4] Conscenderat arces
Evandri massyla phalanx, montesque Quirini
Marmarici pressere pedes, rursusque revexit
Quæ captiva dedit quondam stipendia Barche.
Sidon. Apollin. carmen vii. Paneg. Avit. vers. 441.

"Gizericus sollicitatus a relicta Valentiniani, ut malum fama dispergit, priusquam Avitus Augustus fieret, Romam ingreditur, direptisque opibus Romanorum Carthaginem redit." Idatii. Episcop. Chronic. ap. Sirmond. opera varia. Venet. pag. 239. tom. ii.

"Gensericus rex invitatus ex Africâ Romam ingressus est eâque urbe rebus omnibus spoliatâ," &c. Marcellini Chronic. ap. Sirmond. Tom. ii. pag. 274.

cord that the Vandals in their fourteen days residence emptied Rome of her wealth; and as we are informed of the robbery of half the tiles of the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, and of all the treasures of the Temple of Peace, and the palace of the Cæsars[1], it is reasonable to suppose that the precious metals were extracted and torn down from all the structures, public and private, a violence which, without the use of fire or engines, must have loosened many of the compact masses, and been totally destructive of smaller edifices. An ecclesiastical historian twice mentions that Genserick set fire to Rome, but the silence of other writers has discredited his authority[2].

The sack of Rome by Ricimer (A. D. 472) is generally overlooked by the apologists of the early invaders; but it should not be forgotten that the "Barbarians, Arians, and Infidels" were indulged by the patrician in the plunder of all but two regions of the city[3].

[1] Bell. Vandal. pag. 97. edit. citat. Οὔτε χαλχοῦ οὔτε ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις φεισάμενος.

[2] Αλλὰ τὴν πόλιν πυρπολήσας πάντατε ληϊσάμενος —— τὴν Ῥώμην ἐμπεπρῆσθαι. Evagrii Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. vii. p. 298.

[3] Annali d'Italia, vol. iii. p. 222. Milan 1744. "Ed ecco l'amaro frutto dell' aver gl' Imperadori voluto per lor guardie, o per ausiliarj, gente Barbara, Ariana, e di niuna fede.

Considerable stress has been laid upon the grandeur of the structures which still remained, after the above calamities, to be admired by Theodoric, but the praise of what is left does not include a proof that little has been lost: were it so, Rome would appear to have not suffered much even in the middle ages, when her fragments were the wonder of the pilgrims of every nation. It must, besides, be remarked that the larger monuments, the Forum of Trajan, the Circus Maximus, the Coliseum, the Capitol, the Theatre of Pompey, the Palace of the Cæsars, are those particularly recorded by the minister of the Gothic monarch, and of those the two latter were in want of repair[1]. A palace partly in ruins[2] on the Pincian mount, marbles and square blocks every where lying prostrate[3], the desertion and decay of many houses, must, partially at least, be attributed to the fire of

[1] Cassiodori. Variar. epist. 51. lib. iv. epist. v. lib. vii.

[2] "Ut marmora quæ de domo Pinciana constat esse deposita ad Ravennatem urbem per catabulenses vestra ordinatione dirigantur." Epist. 10. ad Festum. lib. iii. tom. 1. pag. 43. edit. cit.

[3] "Et ideo illustris magnificentia tua marmorum quadratos qui passim diruti negliguntur..... et ornent aliquid saxa jacentia *post ruinas*." Epist. vii. lib. i. pag. 26. tom. 1. edit. cit. In another place he says "Facilis est ædificiorum ruina incolarum subtracta custodia," &c.

Alaric; the spoliation of the Vandals, and the sack of Ricimer. To Vitiges, who came down on Rome like a raging lion[1], must be ascribed the destruction of the aqueducts, which rendered useless the immense thermæ; and as these appear never to have been frequented afterwards, their dilapidation must be partially, but only partially, ascribed to the Goths. Vitiges burnt every thing without the walls, and commenced the desolation of the Campagna[2]. Totila[3] is known to have burnt a third part of the walls, and although he desisted from his meditated destruction of every monument, the extent of the injury inflicted by that conqueror may have been greater than is usually supposed. Procopius affirms that he did burn "not a small portion of the city," especially

[1] "Quod audiens Vitiges, ut leo furibundus omnem Gothorum exercitum Ravennâque egressus Romanas arces obsidione longa fatigat." Jornand. de rebus Geticis, cap. 60. pag. 178. edit. 1697.

[2] St. Anastasii, de vitis. Pontific. Rom. edit. Bianchini. Romæ 1731. in vit. S. Silverii. pag. 84.

[3] Γνοὺς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Τωτίλας· ἔγνω μὲν ῥᾴμην καθελεῖν ἐς ἔδαφος τοῦ μὲν οὖν περιβόλου ἐν χωρίοις πολλοῖς τοσοῦτον καθεῖλεν, ὅσον ἐς τριτημόριον τοῦ παντὸς μάλιστα, ἐμπιπρᾶν δὲ τὲ τῶν οἰκοδομιῶν τὰ κάλλιστά τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα, ἔμελλε· ῥώμην δὲ μηλόβοτον καταστήσεσθαι Bellum Gothic. ἡ' p. 289. edit. cit.

beyond the Tyber[1]. An author of the Chronicles records a fire, and the[2] total abandonment of the city for more than forty days: and it must be mentioned that there is no certain trace of the palace of the Cæsars having survived the irruption of Totila[3]. It must have been at his second entry that this monarch "lived with the Romans as a father with his children," and not at the first, as might be thought from the Annals of Italy[4]. In the five

[1] Ibid. lib. iv. cap. 22 and cap. 33.

[2] "Totila dolo Isaurorum ingreditur Romam die xvi. kal. Januarias, ac evertit muros, domos aliquantas comburens, ac omnes Romanorum res in prædam accepit. Hos ipsos Romanos in Campaniam captivos abduxit; post quam devastationem xl aut amplius dies Roma fuit ita desolata ut nemo ibi hominum *nisi* bestiæ morarentur. Hinc veniens Belisarius murorum partem restaurat, venienteque Totila ad pugnam resistit." Marcellini. Chronic. ap. Sirmond. p. 295. edit. cit.

[3] See a note on the Palatine.

[4] Muratori seems to confound the two captures. Annali d'Italia, tom. iii. p. 410. 411. ad an. 456, and p. 420. ad an. 549. As the Isaurians were the traitors on both occasions, the confusion was the more natural; but it certainly was of the second capture that Anastasius spoke in the following words: "Die autem tertia decima Totila introivit in civitatem Romanam indict. 14. (13) per portam sancti Pauli. Tota enim nocte fecit buccina clangi usque dum cunctus populus fugeret, aut per ecclesias se celaret ne gladio Romani vitam finirent. Ingressus autem rex habitavit cum Romanis quam pater cum filiis." In vit. Vigilii. edit. citat. pag. 89. Mu-

captures of Rome (from 536 to 552) in which she was both attacked and defended by Barbarians, it is impossible but that many of the architectural ornaments of the city must have been utterly destroyed or partially injured; and the particular mention made by Procopius of the care taken by Narses to restore the capital is an evidence of the previous injury[1].

With Totila, the dilapidation of Rome by the Barbarians is generally allowed to terminate. The incursion of the Lombards in 578 and 593 completed the desolation of the Campagna, but did not affect the city itself. Their king Liutprand in 741 has been absolved from his supposed violence[2]; but Astolphus in 754 did assault the city furiously, and whatever structures were near the walls must be supposed to have suffered from his attack[3]. From that period Rome was not forcibly entered, that is, not after a siege, until the fall of the Carlovingian race, when it was defended by Barbarians in

ratori mentions that the Isaurians opened the *Asinarian* gate at the first capture, and the *gate of St. Paul* at the second, and yet he applies the clemency of Totila to his entry by the first, not, as Anastasius says, by the second gate.

[1] De Bell. Gothic. lib. iv. cap. 34. The bridges of Narses over the Anio remain to attest his diligence.

[2] Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. pag. 284.

[3] Annali, &c. tom. iv. pag. 312.

the name of the emperor Lambert, and assaulted and taken by Barbarians, commanded by Arnulphus, son of Carloman of Bavaria (A.D. 896). It has been agreed not to give this invidious name to the Germans under the Othos, the Henries, and the Frederics, or to the Normans of Guiscard; but it is hoped that, without including these spoilers, enough has been said to shew that the absolution of the earlier Barbarians from all charge of injury done to the public edifices of Rome is only one of the many paradoxes which are to be cleared from the surface of Italian literature[1].

Stanza LXXX.

—the Christian.

The injuries done by the Christian clergy to the architectural beauty of Rome may be divided into two kinds: those which were commanded or connived at by the Popes for useful repairs or constructions, and those which were encouraged or permitted from motives of fanaticism.

[1] "In clo nondimeno che appartiene a' pubblici edificj di Roma, dobbiam confessare a gloria de' Barbari stessi, che non troviam prova alcuna che da essi fossero rovinati o arsi." Tiraboschi. Storia della Lett. &c. tom. ii. par. i. lib. i. pag. 74. After such an assertion the learned librarian need not have been surprised that the author of the Mémoires pour la vie de Pétrarque (p. 514) exclaimed "Il faut avouer qu'il y a dans votre litterature des choses singulieres et tout a fait inconcevables." See Storia, &c. tom. v. par. 11. lib. iii. pag. 460.

It will be easy to make the distinction without the division, and very different feelings will be excited by dilapidations for the service of the city and for that of the church.

The conversion of Constantine cannot be denied to have changed the destination of many public buildings, and to have excited a demand for the ornaments of the baptized Basilica, which, we have ocular proof at this day, was satisfied at the expense of other edifices. If an arch of Trajan was despoiled to adorn his triumph, other structures were robbed to contribute to the splendour of his conversion[1]. The figure and the decorations of buildings appropriated to the new religion necessarily were partially changed, and that such a change was detrimental to their architecture, the early Basilical churches still exist as an evidence[2]. The temples of Rome were not universally shut until the edict of Honorius (A. D. 399), but an

[1] Nardini, Lib. vi. cap. xv. seems to doubt or not to determine this, but owns the sculpture is of the time of Trajan. A part of this arch was dug up near the column of Trajan in the time of Vacca.

[2] Look at the church of St. Agnes without the walls. The Christians took or imitated ornaments of all kinds from the temples. In that church the pomegranates of Proserpine, the emblem of mortality, are on the balustrades of the high altar. A thousand years afterwards, Leda and the Swan were still thought appropriate figures for the bronze doors of St. Peter's.

Italian writer[1] has shewn, with some success, that Christianity had been actively employed before that period in destroying the symbols and haunts of the ancient superstition.

A law of Theodosius the Great ordered the destruction of the temples at Alexandria[2], and though it has been triumphantly quoted in favour of christian forbearance, that St. Ambrose[3] found the baths, the porticos, and the squares of Rome full of idols in 383; yet another saint boasts that in 405 all the statues in the temples were overthrown[4]. The sale of the idols in Greece had begun with Constantine[5]. The law

[1] Pietro Lazeri, discorso della consecrazione del Panteone fatta da Bonifazio IV. Roma, 1749. pp. 39, 40.

[2] Socrat. Hist. Ecclesias. lib. v. cap. xvi. The bishop Theophilus marched about the town carrying in triumph the *phalli* taken from the *Serapeon*.

[3] "Non illis satis sunt lavacra, non porticus, non plateæ occupatæ simulacris?" D. Ambros. epist. cont. Symmach. Lugd. Bat. 1653. p. 455. "Eversis in urbe Roma omnibus simulacris." Serm. de verb. evang. cap. 10. n. 13. in fin. oper. tom. v. par. 1. col. 547.

[4] Dissertazione sulle rovine di Roma, dall' Abate Carlo Fea, Storia delle Arti, &c. tom. iii. p. 267 to 416. edit. Rom. 1784. The Abate strangely quotes St. Ambrose against St. Augustine, who talks of Rome eighteen years afterwards.

[5] Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ναοὺς κλείων καὶ καθαιρῶν κἀι δημοσίων τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀγάλματα. Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. iii.

of Honorius which forbade the destruction of the edifices themselves, proves, if any thing, that such an outrage had been perpetrated, and was to be apprehended. A prohibitory edict must suppose an offence. It is not easy to interpret in more than one way the following words of St. Jerome. "The golden Capitol has lost all its splendour; the temples of Rome are covered with dust and cobwebs; the very city is moved from its foundations, and the overflowing people rush before the *half torn up shrines* to the tombs of the martyrs[1]." The squalid appearance of the Capitol is mentioned in another passage of the same writer[2], where the temples of Jove and his ceremonies are said metaphorically, or actually, to have fallen down. In the year 426, Theodosius the younger ordered the destruction of the temples and fanes. A commentator[3] has endeavoured to reason this

[1] "Auratum squalet Capitolium. Fuligine et araneorum telis omnia Romæ templa cooperta sunt. Movetur urbs sedibus suis, et inundans populus ante delubra semiruta currit ad martyrum tumulos." Epist. cvii. ad Lætam, Hieron. opera, tom. i. p. 672. Veron. 1734. Yet this was before Christianity could be traced back two generations in Rome. "Fiunt non nascuntur Christiani," says the same saint in the same place.

[2] "Squalet Capitolium, templa Jovis et cæremoniæ conciderunt." Lib. 2. advers. Jovinian, tom. ii. p. 384.

[3] Godefroy, [*Gottofredus.*]—Dissertazione sulle Rovine, &c.

away, and another writer has been eager to shew that the mandate was addressed to the eastern Illyricum. To this it may be replied, that it is to be inferred, that province was thought most attached to paganism, and that the temples had been preserved there, when in the capitals they had been overthown. An ecclesiastical writer, only twelve years after this law, talks of the order, or of the effect of it, as being general; saying, that "*the destruction of the idolatrous fanes was from the foundation, and so complete, that his cotemporaries could not perceive a vestige of the former superstition*[1]." The same author has a much stronger expression in another passage. "*Their temples are so destroyed, that the appearance of their form no longer remains, nor can those of our times recognize the shape of their altars: as for their materials, they are dedicated to the fanes*

p. 284. note (C). The words are, "cunctaque eorum fana, templa, delubra, siqua etiam nunc restant integra, præcepto magistratuum destrui, conlocationeque venerandæ Christianæ religionis signi expiari præcipimus." Codex Theod. lib. xvi. tit. 10. de Pagan. sacrif. et templis leg. 18.

[1] Τόσουτου δὴ ἕνεκα καὶ αὐτὰ τῶν εἰδωλικῶν σηκῶν τὰ λειπόμενα ἐκ βάθρων ἀνασπασθῆναι προσέταξεν ὥστε τοὺς μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἐσομένους μηδὲν ἴχνος τῆς προτέρας ἐξαπάτης θεάσασθαι. Theodoriti Episcop. Cyri. Ecclesias. Hist. lib. v. cap. 37. p. 243. edit. Amstelod. 1695. He published his history about 439. See the preface by Valesius.

of the martyrs[1]." The opinion of the Cardinal Baronius is positive to the zeal and the destruction. "As soon as this long desired permission of breaking the idols was obtained from the christian prince, the just zeal of the christian people broke out at last in the throwing down and breaking of the pagan gods." And he before exclaims, "It is incredible with what animosity the Faithful at Rome leapt upon the idols[2]."

After this law no mention is made in the codes of temples or their materials, and if these edifices were legally protected up to the time of Justinian, they must be supposed to be included under the head of public buildings.

[1] "Horum namque templa sic destructa sunt ut ne figurarum quidem permansit species, nec ararum formam hujus sæculi homines sciant: harum autem materia omnis martyrum fanis dicata est." From Theodoret's eighth discourse on the martyrs. The translation of Sirmond is quoted, the original not being before the writer.

[2] "Hæc semel a christiano principe idola frangendi impetrata diu optata licentia, exarsit christiani populi justus zelus in desturbandis confringendisque deorum gentilitium simulacris ——— vix credi potest quanta animositate Fideles Romæ in idola insilierint." Annales Ecclesias. cum critice Pagi, tom. vi. p. 51. Lucæ. 1740. The cardinal talks of a period rather prior even to the date of Theodoret. Temples, in certain precincts, were perhaps saved from violence. "Claudian boasts that Honorius was guarded in the Palatine by the temples of the gods." "*Tot circum delubra videt*," &c. See note on the Palatine.

Their protection is, however, very doubtful. Temples are not found amongst the wonders admired by Theodoric, except the half stripped Capitoline fane is to be enumerated: and Procopius confines his notices to the Temple of Peace, which he alludes to cursorily, as being in the Forum of that name [1], and to the Temple of Janus [2], whose doors there was still enough of pleasantry or paganism left in Rome to attempt to open during the distress of the Gothic siege. Stilicho [3] found no law to prevent him or his wife from partially stripping off the ornaments of the Capitoline Temple, and the burning of the Sybilline books by the same christian hero, evinces the temper of the times. In the reign of Justinian a widow was in possession of the ruins of a temple on the Quirinal, and made a present of eight columns to the Emperor for his metropolitan St. Sophia [4]. The temples then were partly in pri-

[1] Lib. iv. Bell. Goth. cap. xxi. Maltrito interprete.

[2] Lib. i. cap. 25. ibid.

[3] "Nam Zosimus tradit cum Theodosius Romam venit, hoc scilicet anno, Stiliconem ducem utriusque militiæ e foribus Capitolii laminas aureas abstulisse, ejusque uxorem Serenam nomine, detraxisse e collo Rheæ deorum matri mundum muliebrem suoque ipsius illigasse collo." Baron. Ann. Eccl. ad an. 389. in loc. et edit. citat. For the burning the Sybilline books, see the same place, and the *Iter* of Rutilius.

[4] Winkelmann, Osservazioni sull' architettura degli antichi. cap. ii. sec. 4. p. 88. note (B). Dissertazione, &c. p. 302. note (D), tom. iii. of Fea's translation.

vate hands, and therefore not universally protected as public edifices. The pagan structures would naturally suffer more at the first triumph of Christianity than afterwards, when the rage and the merit of destruction must have diminished. And after the danger of a relapse was no longer to be feared, it is not unlikely that some of the precious vestiges of the ancient worship might be considered under the guard of the laws. In this way we may account for the permission asked in one instance to despoil a temple for the ornament of a church [1]; a circumstance which is quoted to show the care of those structures, but which is surely as fair a proof of their neglect [2]. The consecration of the Pantheon did not take place until 609 or 610, two hundred years after the shutting of the temples; and that event is allowed to be the first recorded instance of a similar conversion. If many of the immense number of fanes and temples had been preserved entire until that time, it is probable that the example would have been followed in more cases than we know

[1] "Hic cooperuit ecclesiam omnem ex tegulis æreiis quas levavit de templo, quod appellatur Romæ [Romuli] ex consensu piissimi Heraclei imperatoris." Anastas. in vit. Honorii I. p. 96. tom. i. edit. citat. The temple is called the temple of Romulus in Via Sacra, in the life of Paul I. p. 175. tom. i. &c. The church which gained by the robbery was St. Peter's.

[2] Dissertazione, &c. p. 286.

to have been adopted. The Christians found the form of the Basilica much more suitable to their worship than that of the temple. They did not consecrate a single sacred edifice for more than two hundred years after the triumph of their religion. They cannot be proved to have ever taken the entire form of more than four or five [1]. What was the fate of the remainder? We hear of fifty-six churches built upon the sites, or supposed sites, of temples [2]. Is it then too rash to believe that so many structures which we know to have disappeared at an early period, which were abandoned, which were regarded as an abomination, and which tradition declares to have stood upon the sites of churches, were despoiled, for the most part, by the zeal of the early Christians, and their materials employed to the honour of the triumphant religion? It is particularly told of Gregory III. that he finished a chapel to certain martyrs *in ruins* [3].

[1] The Pantheon, Cosmas and Damianus, St. Theodore, St. Stephano in Rotundis (perhaps), St. Maria, Egizziaca (doubtful), the supposed temple of Vesta on the Tyber, St. Hadrian (the façade torn off). Can any other be mentioned?

[2] See De templis gentilitium in templa divorum mutatis, cap. ix. Georg. Fabricii, Descriptio Romæ ap. Græv. Antiq. Roman. tom. iii. p. 462.

[3] "Cæmeterium beatorum martyrum Januarii, Urbani, Tiburtii, Valeriani et Maximi, et eorum tecta in ruinis positi

Most of the lives of the early Popes in Anastasius consist of little else than the building of churches. Those of Hadrian I., Leo III., and Gregory IV., occupy many pages with the mere enumeration of their names [1]. Both piety and economy would prompt the spoliation of the nearest ancient structures connected with the old superstition; and the only indulgence shewn to the pagan deities was, when their baptism might, by a little distortion, entrust their fanes to the protection of a similar saint [2].

The more prominent symbols of the ancient religion would hardly be suffered to stand after the temples were shut. Da Barga asserts as a fact, that there were marks on the obelisks of their having been all overthrown with the exception of one, which was not dedicated to any

perfecit." Anastas. in vit. Gregor. III. p. 145. tom. i. edit. citat. We find Pope John III. afterwards living in this cemetery.

[1] See an account of the rapid building of churches by the Popes after Gregory III. in Donatus. Roma vetus, lib. iv. cap. viii.

[2] Thus Romulus and Remus became Cosmas and Damianus. Romulus, a foundling and a warrior, and a healer of young children, was changed for St. Theodore, a foundling and warrior, and also healer of children. Mars had not a violent metamorphosis to reappear as St. Martina; but there is some doubt of the latter conversion.

of the false gods of antiquity [1]. However, Constantius erected one of these monuments [2], and two were standing in the IXth century, if we are to credit a barbarous regionary of that period [3]. Da Barga extends his praise of the pontiffs to the destruction of the theatres and circuses, the frequenting of which, dedicated as they were to false gods, Lactantius and Tertullian thought equally nefarious with sacrificing to Jove or Serapis. We know that an attempt was made to put the Circensian games at Rome under new patronage, but that they were entirely discontinued in the year 496, when the people declared they would not have Jesus Christ in the place of Mars, and the provision for the festival was distributed to the poor [4]. The same writer, after a diligent study of the fathers, and having commenced with the contrary opinion, is convinced that Gregory the

[1] That of the Vatican. See de privatorum publicorumque, &c. p. 1891, in loco citato. "Neque enim existimare possumus cæteros obeliscos vel terræ motu vel fulmine dejectos esse cum vectium et ferramentorum vestigia, quibus eversi sunt adhuc extant in infimæ partis lateribus quæ basim spectant."

[2] That now standing before the Lateran.

[3] The *pyramid* of Sallust, and the *pyramid* near St. Lorenzo in Luciana. The regionary is quoted afterwards.

[4] Baronius, Annal. Ecclesias. ad an. 496. p. 606. tom. viii. edit. citat.

Great was the chief instrument of this destruction, and notably of the Circus Maximus, near which he built a church[1]. The Circus, however, is recorded by the regionary of the IXth century[2]. The baths, a greater abomination, he is also convinced owed their destruction to the same piety, and those of Diocletian and Caracalla showed in his time evident marks of human violence. He adds that there is no proof of these immense structures having been ruined by earthquakes, and to this it may be subjoined, that when the Roman families of the middle ages had occupied the Coliseum and other ancient monuments, they did not take possession of the baths, with the exception of those of Constantine on the Quirinal. The last mention of them in any way that can make us suppose them entire, is in the regionary of the IXth century. Their precious materials, statues, and marble *coatings* and columns, would naturally be carried away when the baths had ceased to be frequented; but some violence must have been necessary to throw down so large a portion of their masses: nor could this be done

[1] De privatorum publicorumque, &c. p. 1889.

[2] The last vestiges of the Circus Maximus were carried away about the time of Paul V. See Vedute degli Antichi Vestigj di Roma di Alò Giovannili, in the plate representing those ruins.

for the sake of grinding down their materials, which are of brick. So early as the tenth century, there were three churches built in the Alexandrine baths [1], which must therefore have been previously in ruins. It must be confessed, at the same time, that the evidence against the Christians is not equally strong when applied to the theatres and thermæ, as it appears to be referring to the temples. As the defence of Gregory the Great has been successfully undertaken against his principal accuser, it is of little moment to mention that a Monsignor Segardi, in a speech which he recited in the Capitol [2] in 1703, was bold enough to state and enforce his belief of all the charges made against the saint, none of which can be traced higher than nearly six centuries after his death [3]. The

[1] Roma ex ethnica sacra. Martinelli, cap. ix. p. 167. quoted in Dissertazione, &c. p. 358.

[2] Prose degli Arcadi, tom. i. p. 126. Dissertazione, p. 287. note (H).

[3] Jacob. Brucker, Historiæ criticæ philosophiæ, from page 633 to page 672, edit. Lips. 1768. sect. iii. de nat. et indole et modo Phil. Schol. in appendice. Do what he will, Brucker cannot trace any of the stories, the suppression of *mathesis*, the statue-breaking, or library-burning, higher than John of Salisbury. He made a great mistake in calling Gregory the master of John Diaconus, who lived two centuries afterwards, and is reproved by Tiraboschi. Storia, &c. tom. iii. lib. ii. p. 99 to p. 114. edit. Venet. 1795. The story of his throwing down

discouragement of *mathesis*, whether it meant magic or profane learning in general, would be only a presumptive proof of the tasteless ignorance or credulity of the pontiff; and a more satisfactory argument than the silence of his biographers may be deduced from the belief that Gregory had but little time or means for the building of churches, and consequently for the spoliation of ancient edifices. He is not to be suspected of wanton violence, for the destruction of buildings is the subject of one of the complaints with which he bewails the wretchedness of the times[1]. A large column was, however, transferred in those days, (608) from some other structure to the Forum, and dedicated to the murderer Phocas. The successors of Gregory were less scrupulous, it should seem, than himself. We have seen that Honorius I. removed the gilt tiles from the temples of Romulus. Gregory III. employed nine columns of some ancient building for the church of St.

the statues can only be traced to Leo of Orvietto, a Dominican writer of the XIVth century. See Testimonia quorundam veterum scriptorum de St. Gregorio Papa, at the end of the Venice edition of St. Gregory's works; and St. Gregorius Magnus vindicatus, by Gian Girolamo Gradenigo, in the xvith volume.

[1] "Ipsa quoque destrui ædificia videmus." Homilia in Ezechielem, lib. ii. hom. vi. p. 70. tom. v. Opp. omn. Venet. 1776.

Peter[1]. The rebuilding of the city walls by four Popes in the same century (VIIIth), Sisinius, Gregory II. and III. and St. Adrian I. was an useful but a destructive operation[2]. Their lime-kilns must have been supplied from the ancient city. It is to a presumed necessity, and not to superstition, that the succeeding spoliation of the ancient works of art by the Popes must chiefly be attributed; but it will be observed that the embellishment of the christian churches was the chief motive for this destruction, and consequently ranks it in the class at present under examination. Pope Hadrian I., by the infinite labour of the people employed during a whole year, threw down an immense structure of Tiburtine stone to enlarge the church of St. Maria in Cosmedin[3]. Donus I.

[1] Anastas. in vit. St. Greg. II.

[2] "Qui et calcarias pro restauratione murorum jussit decoquere." Anastas. in vit. Sisinii, p. 127. tom. i. edit. citat. He was Pope in 708. "Hic exordio Pontificatus sui calcarias decoqui jussit, et a porta sancti Laurentii inchoans hujus civitatis muros restaurare decreverat, et aliquam partem faciens emergentibus incongruis, variisque tumultibus, præpiditus est." Ibid. in vit. St. Gregorii II. who was Pope from 714 to 731. "Hujus temporibus plurima pars murorum hujus civitatis Romanæ restuarata sunt." Ibid. in vit. Gregorii III. p. 145. See also the same in vit. St. Hadriani, p. 210. Gregory was Pope from 731 to 740—Hadrian from 772 to 791.

[3] "Nam maximum monumentum de Tiburtino tufo super eam dependens per anni circulum plurimum multitudinem

(elected in 676) had before stripped the marble from a large pyramid between the Vatican and the castle of St. Angelo, vulgarly known by the name of the tomb of Scipio[1]. The spoil was laid on the floor of the *atrium* of St. Peter. The history of the middle ages cannot be supposed to have preserved many such precise records; but the times after the return of the Popes from Avignon are sufficiently eloquent. Paul II.[2] employed the stones of the Coliseum to build a palace. Sixtus IV. took down a temple, supposed by Pomponius Lætus that of Hercules, near St. Maria, in Cosmedin[3]; and the same pontiff destroyed the remains of an ancient bridge to make 400 cannon balls for the castle of St. Angelo[4]. Alexander VI.[5] threw down

populi congruens multorumque lignorum struem incendens demolitus est." Anastas. in vit. St. Hadriani, I. p. 214. edit. citat.: he repeats it in the next page.

[1] Nardini, Roma Ant. lib. vii. cap. xiii.

[2] See Donatus, Roma Vetus, lib. iv. cap. ix. for Paul II. who reigned from 1464 to 1470.

[3] Donatus, &c. lib. 2. cap. 25.

[4] Stephen. Infessura, Diar. Urb. Rom. says this happened in 1484. The bridge was called that of Horatius Cocles, "e le dette palle furono fabricate a marmorata dove fu finito di distruggere un ponte di travertino rotto, il quale si chiamava il ponte di Orazio Cocles." Scriptores Rer. Italic. tom. iii. part ii. p. 1178.

[5] The pyramid was bigger than that of Cestius, was mentioned by Blondus, Fulvius, and Marlianus, and is seen on the

the pyramid which Donus had stripped to make a way for his gallery between the Vatican and the castle of St. Angelo. Paul III. and his nephews laboured incessantly at the quarry of the Coliseum. This pope applied himself to the Theatre of Marcellus, to the Forum of Trajan, to a temple usually called of Pallas, opposite the Temple of Faustina, to that temple itself, to the Arch of Titus, and to a large mass of ancient work which he levelled to the ground in the Piazza del Popolo[1], and had not the excuse of piety for this wide devastation.

Sixtus V. carried away the remains of the Septizonium of Severus for the service of St. Peter's, and a cotemporary positively mentions that he threw down certain statues still remaining in the Capitol[2]. Urban VIII. took off the

bronze doors of St. Peter's. Nardini. lib. vii. cap. xiii. Alexander reigned from 1490 to 1503.

[1] Venuti, Roma Moderna. Rione x. p. 353. tom. ii. Donatus, lib. iv. cap. ix. Dissertazione sulle rovine, &c. p. 399. Paul III. began to reign in 1533, and died in 1549.

[2] Da Barga. Commentarius de Obelisco. ap. Græv. Antiq. Roman. in loc. citat pag. 1931. He mentioned this to the honour of Sixtus, to whom he dedicated his commentary, and he believed it an imitation of the conduct of Gregory the Great and others. "Quorum pietatem, Pius V. et Sixtus V. Pontifices Max. sic imitati sunt, ut eorum alter ex ædibus Vaticanis hujusmodi omnes statuas alio amandare cogitaverat, alter e turre capitolina incredibili sua cum laude dejici jus-

bronze from the portico of the Pantheon [1] to make cannon for the castle of St. Angelo, and to construct the confessional of St. Peter. He took away also some of the base of the sepulchre of Cecilia Metella for the fountain of Trevi[2]. Paul V. removed the entablature and pediment of a structure in the Forum of Nerva for his fountain on the Janiculum, and transported the remaining column of the Temple of Peace to decorate the place before St. Maria Maggiore[3]. Lastly, Alexander VII. took down the arch commonly called "di Portogallo" in order to widen the Corso[4]. A little more taste and

serit." See his Treatise on the Destroyers of Rome, &c. p. 1887. in loco citat.

[1] See note on the Pantheon.

[2] Echinard. Agro. Romano, p. 295. edit. 1750. Yet Mr. Gibbon says he has nothing else to allege against this pope than the punning saying, "Quod non fecerunt barbari fecerunt Barbarini." Cap. lxxi. p. 424. tom. xii.

[3] Venuti Roma Moderna. Rione. I. p. 47. tom. i.

[4] The remains of this arch are seen in Donatus, fig. 32. He (lib. iii.) thought it of Drusus, but without reason. See Nardini, (lib. vi. cap. ix.) Alexander VII. was so proud of this destruction that he chose to record it by an inscription which is here given, because it is esteemed the best specimen of lapidary writing in Rome.

Alex. VII. Pontif. Max.
Viam latam feriatæ urbis hippodromum
Qua interjectis ædificiis impeditam

ingenuity might surely have preserved the monument and yet improved the modern street. The inferior clergy were, it is probable, much more guilty than the pontiffs, and a volume of no inconsiderable bulk has been composed by one of their own order to enumerate the pagan materials applied to the use of the church[1]. As long as the ancient monuments were considered the property of that church, it does not appear that any protection was granted to them, and a writer, who is in some degree an advocate for the clergy, has been obliged to confess that when the ruins were in possession of the modern senate and people, they were less subject to spoliation than in preceding periods[2]. The superstition of the clergy and the people at large prevented them from attributing a proportionate value to objects not connected with their ecclesiastical legends; and when the relics of the ancient

Qua procurrentibus deformatam
Liberam rectamque reddidit
Publicæ commoditati et ornamento.
Anno. Sal. MDC. LXV.

The bas reliefs on the arch are now in the Capitoline palace of the *Conservatori.*

[1] Marangoni, *delle cose gentilesche e profane trasporte ad uso e ornamento delle chiese;* see also Fioravante Martinelli, *Roma ex ethnica sacra.*

[2] The Abate Fea in his dissertation.

city had begun to be regarded with somewhat less indifference, they seem to have been respectable from some pious fable[1] attached to their sites rather than by any antiquarian importance. Even the great Sixtus Quintus could not restore an obelisk without affixing an inscription devoted to the purposes of religious imposture[2]. The very study of the ancient relics is perverted, and rendered subservient to church fable. Cardinal Baronius, for the sake of finding St. Peter's prison at *St. Niccolas in carcere*, distorted the position of the Roman Forum: and Nardini himself, in other respects so incredulous, affirms that there is a *certain* tradition of the confinement of that apostle in

[1] See the above cited collection of designs, entitled Vedute degli Antichi Vestigj di Roma, di Alo Giovannili, drawn in the time of Paul V.: every picture is enlivened by a massacre of martyrs, or a miracle, or a dedication of a church. The Vestal with her sieve, and Curtius leaping into the gulf, are the only heathen fictions or facts honoured with any notice.

[2] Christum. Dominum
Quem Augustus
De Virgine
Nasciturum
Vivens adoravit
Seque deinceps
Dominum
Dici vetuit
Adoro.

the Mamertine dungeon, and of the fountain springing up for the baptizement of his jailer[1]. What were the merits of the latter pontiffs in the preservation of the ancient fabrics will be seen in another place: the above remarks may have served to shew how far their predecessors and the religion of which they were the chiefs are to be taken into account in treating of the ruin and neglect of these venerable monuments.

Stanza LXXX.

Time, war, flood, and fire
Have dealt upon the seven-hilled city's pride.

The agency of the Barbarians and of the catholic religion is far from being an adequate cause for so little being left of that city which was called the epitome of the universe[2]. It is proposed, therefore, to take a cursory view of the general progress of decay arising from other causes of destruction.

A tremendous fire in the year 700 or 703 of the city had made it necessary to rebuild the

[1] Nardini, lib. v. cap. xi. See a note on the Roman piety.

[2] Ἐπιτομὴ τῆς οἰκουμένης is an expression of Athenæus, quoted in one of the topographers, Julius Minutulus.

greater part of Rome[1]. This was undertaken by Augustus, and the famous eulogium on the grandeur of his restoration[2] shows what materials were a prey to the fire of Nero, from which only four regions escaped untouched, and which was fatal to the most venerable fanes and trophies of the earlier ages[3]. We may conclude from a passage of Tacitus, that so early as the reign of Vitellius a work belonging to the time of the republic was a rare object[4]. The fire and civil war which destroyed the Capitol during that reign, that which raged for three days and nights under Titus[5], the conflagration in the thirteenth year of Trajan which consumed a part of the Forum and of the golden house of

[1] Orosii, Hist. lib. vi. cap. xiv. and lib. vii. cap. ii. Fourteen *vici* were consumed.

[2] "He found it brick, he left it marble;" or, as Dion says, Τὴν Ῥώμην γηΐνην παραλαβὼν λιθίνην ὑμῖν καταλείπω. Hist. Rom. lib. lvi. pag. 829. tom. ii. edit. Hamb. 1750. What is said of Themistocles is a much finer eulogium. Ὃς ἐποιήσε τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν μεστὴν ἐυρὼν ἐπιχειλῆ, Aristoph. Equit. v. 811. "He made our city full, having found it empty."

[3] Sueton. in vit. Neronis. Tacit. Annal. lib. xv. cap. 38, 39, 40, 41.

[4] "Lutatii Catuli nomen inter tanta Cæsarum opera usque ad Vitellium mansit." Hist. lib. iii. cap. 72.

[5] Sueton. in vit. Titi.

Nero[1], must have contributed to the obliteration of the ancient city; and if there was scarcely any relic of republican Rome when Tacitus wrote, it may be suspected that the capital even of the first Cæsars had begun to disappear at an earlier period than is usually imagined. The temples under the Capitol bear witness to the falls and fires which had required the constant attention and repair of the senate[2], and became more common after the transfer of the seat of government to Constantinople. Popular tumults were then more frequent and injurious. In one which occurred in the year 312 the Temple

[1] G. Sincellus in Chronog. p. 347. quoted in Dissertazione, &c. p. 293.

[2] D. N. Constantino . Maximo . Pio . Felici . ac . Triumphatori . semper . Augusto . ob . amplificatam . toto . orbe . rem . publicam . factis . consiliisque . S. P. Q. R. Dedicante . Anicio . Paulino . Juniore . C. V. Cos. ord. Præf. urbi. S. P. Q. R.

Ædem . Concordiæ . vetustate . collapsam . in . meliorem . faciem . opere . et . cultu . splendidiore . restituerunt.

This inscription was found near the ruins under the Capitol, and transferred to the Lateran, whence it has disappeared.

The words now remaining on the frieze of the same supposed Temple of Concord are

Senatus Populusque Romanus
Incendio consumptum Restituit.

The other temple of three columns, called now Jupiter Tonans, has the letters ESTITVER.

of Fortune was burnt down[1]. The Palace of Symmachus[2], that of the prefect Lampadius, in 367, and, it is probable, the Baths of Constantine, each suffered by the same violence; and an incription which records the repair of the latter informs us also how small were the means of the senate and people for restoring the ancient structures[3]. The destruction must not be confined to one element. The Tyber, which Augustus[4] cleansed, which Trajan deepened, and Aurelian endeavoured to restrain by a mound[5], rose not unfrequently to the walls,

[1] Annali d' Italia. ad an. 312. tom. ii. p. 312. Muratori quotes Zosimus, lib. ii. c. 13. and would make us put this fire to the charge of religion.

[2] Amm. Marcellinus, lib. xxvii. cap. iii. p. 523. edit. Lugd. Bat. 1693. "Hic præfectus [Lampadii] exagitatus est motibus crebris, uno omnium maximo cum collecta plebs infima, domum ejus prope Constantinianum lavacrum injectis facibus incenderat et malleolis," &c. Ibid.

[3] Vid. Nardini, lib. iv. cap. vi. "Petronius Perpenna magnus Quadratianus V. C. et Inl. Praef. Urb. Constantinianas thermas longa incuria et abolendæ civilis vel potius feralis cladis vastatione vehementer adflictas ita ut agnitione sui ex omni parte perdita desperationem cunctis reparationis adferrent deputato ab amplissimo ordine parvo sumptu quantum publicæ patiebantur angustiæ ab extremo vindicavit occasu et provisione largissima in pristinam faciem splendoremque restituit."

[4] Sueton. in vit. Augusti. cap. xxx.

[5] "Tyberinas extruxi ripas. Vadum alvei tumentis effodi." Vopisc. in vit. Aureliani, p. 215. Ald. edit. 1519.

and terrified the pious cruelty of the Romans into persecution[1]. The repeated notices of inundation will be seen to form part of the melancholy annals of the declining capital; but the decay of the city was hastened not only by these natural evils and by the violence of hostile conflicts within the walls[2], but by the silent dilapidation of ancient structures, both private and public, which appears to have been a delinquency as early as the beginning of the fourth century, and to have been prohibited afterwards by successive imperial laws. The removal of the emperors to Constantinople encouraged the spoliation, and if it were possible to ascertain the list of all the ornaments of Rome which were transferred to the seat of empire, there might be a better justification for those who attribute the ruin of the old to the rise of the new capital[3]. The departure of many of the principal families for the banks of the Bosporus

[1] "Tyberis si ascendit ad mœnia; si Nilus non ascendit in arva: si cœlum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues, statim Christianos ad Leones." Tertull. Apolog. cap. xlii.

[2] A battle was fought on the Cælian hill in the reign of Aurelian. Decline and Fall, cap. xi. tom. ii. oct. p. 51.

[3] "Ut non immerito dixeris, non a barbaris, sed prius a Constantino eversam fuisse Romam." Isa. Vossii de magnitudine Romæ Veteris. ap. Græv. Antiq. Roman. tom. iv. p. 1507. p. 1516. cap. vii.

had emptied a portion of the patrician palaces. The public structures we know were not entirely spared, when it was requisite to record the triumph of Constantine[1]; and the debasement of the arts having left the Romans no other resource than the application of former trophies to their present sovereign, the same flattery which robbed an arch of Trajan may have despoiled many other monuments to decorate the chosen city of the conqueror. The laws of the codes[2] speak of ruins and edifices

[1] See page 72, note 1.

[2] XI. Impp. Valentinianus et Valens A A ad Symmachum P. U. "Intra urbem Romam eternam nullus Judicum novum opus informet: quotiens serenitatis nostræ arbitria cessabunt: ea tamen instaurandi quæ jam deformibus ruinis intercidisse dicuntur universis licentiam damus." Dat. viii. kalend. Jun. Philippis. Divo Joviano et Varroniano Coss. [A. D. 364] lib. xv. tit. 1. Codex Theodos. edit. Mant. 1768. p. 261. The law is repeated the next year. The next law mentions the seizure of the granaries. By several other laws of the code under the same title, it appears that the public buildings in the provinces were also falling to decay. The following law speaks more strongly of the decay and the spoliation at Rome.

XIX. Impp. Valens, Gratianus, et Valentinianus A A A ad senatum. Nemo præfectorum urbis aliorumve judicum, quos potestas in excelso locat, opus aliquod novum in urbe Roma inclyta moliatur, sed excolendis veteribus intendet animum. Novum quoque opus qui volet in urbe moliri, sua pecunia, suis opibus absolvat, non contractis veteribus emo-

in decay, which, we may collect from prohibiting clauses, it was the custom not to restore but to pillage for the service of new buildings. Such was the disorder in the reign of Valens and Valentinian, that private individuals had seized upon the public granaries: columns and marbles were transported from one city to another, and from one service to another. A law above referred to for the year 364, when quoted in the Justinian code, contains a singular expression not before remarked, by which it would appear that at an early period there was an *old* distinct from a *new* Rome[1]. The regionaries do not notice the distinction, and the commentators object to the phrase; but it seems very probable that the migration from the mounts to the Campus Martius had commenced after the repeated sack and sieges of the city, and the causes of decay before commemorated, had encumbered the ancient site with ruins. The Campus Martius had

lumentis, non effossis nobilium operum substructionibus, non redivivis de publico saxis, non marmorum frustis spoliatarum ædium reformatione convulsis. Lecta in Senatu. Valente V. et Valentiniano. A A. Coss. [A. D. 376.] Read *deformatione*, according to three editions, p. 269. The Laws xxvii. and xxix. of the same title are to the same purpose.

[1] Vid. Cod. Justin. lib. viii. tit. xii. tom. ii. pag. 471. edit. Gotting. 1797. which repeats the law above, beginning "Intra urbem Romam *veterem et novam*," and inserts "nisi ex suis pecuniis hujusmodi opus construre voluerit."

been surrounded by the wall of Aurelian, and from that time it may be supposed that the vast fields, the groves of the Augustan mausoleum, the innumerable porticoes, the magnificent temples, the circus, and the theatre of that district[1], were gradually displaced, or choked up by the descending city. As late as the reign of Valentinian III. we find mention made of the Campus Martius as if it were still an open place[2]. Yet it is possible that the quarter preserved the name, as at present, long after it had lost its original appearance and destination.

It is not to be overlooked, that in the reign of Constantius, the architectural wonders of the city were still sufficient to astonish a stranger[3]; that when the regionaries wrote under Valentinian[4], a pompous list of public monuments might still be collected for the admiration and confusion of

[1] See a beautiful description of it in Strabo, lib. v.

[2] He was killed in the Campus Martius, according to Cassiodorus and Victor Tutonensis; but Prosper, in his Chronicle, names another place called the two Laurels. Annali d' Italia, ad an 455. tom. iii. p. 163.

[3] "Deinde intra septem montium culmina, per acclivitates planitiemque posita urbis membra collustrans et suburbana, quiquid viderat primum, id eminere ante alia cuncta sperabat," &c. &c. Amm. Marcel. lib. xvi. cap. x. p. 145. Lugd. Bat. 1693.

[4] He was elected Emperor in 364, and died in 375.

posterity[1]; that when Alaric took the town, the private houses contained the buildings of a whole city[2]; and that even after that calamity the old age of Rome was more attractive than the youth of any other capital. There was, doubtless, still enough left to confer the palm upon the ancient metropolis[3], whose ruins at this day form a striking contrast with the few relics of the second capital. The stranger could not perceive what was lost: the native still flattered himself that every injury might be repaired; and such was the stability of the larger monuments, that to the poet and consul Ausonius, at the end of the fourth century, Rome was still the golden, the eternal city[4]. In the panegyrics,

[1] The two regionaries, Rufus and Victor, occupy twelve pages, in double column, of the folio Thesaurus of Grævius, tom. iii.

[2] Ὅτι ἕκαστος τῶν μεγάλων οἴκων τῆς Ῥώμης, ὡς φήσιν ἅπαντα εἶχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ, ὁπόσα πόλις σύμμετρος ἠδύνατο ἔχειν. Olympiod. ap Phot. Biblioth. edit. 1653, p. 198.

Εἷς δόμος ἅστυ πέλει, πόλις ἄστεα μυρία κεύθει—

[3] Manuel Chrysoloras made a comparison between Rome and Constantinople: he did not believe what he had heard of Rome, but found that her very ruins were a sufficient proof of her former superiority. This was in 1464, at least his book has that date. See Museum Italic. p. 96, tom. i. 1724.

[4] Epigrammata quatuor, &c. Auson. Op. pp. 78, 80, edit. Burdigal.

"Prima urbes inter Divum domus, aurea Roma."

Claræ urbes, p. 195.

however, of her last admirers, we may trace her decay. The private palaces, which are celebrated by Olympiodorus, have no encomium from the poet who survived the ravage of Genserick, and who still extols the baths of Agrippa, of Nero, and of Diocletian[1]. The care and admiration of Theodoric were directed to those objects whose solidity or whose position protected them from sudden dissolution, but which were still shaken by violence and age[2]. Cassiodorus confesses that his master, the lover of architecture[3], the restorer of cities, could only repair decently the tottering remnants of antiquity[4]. He owns, also, the partial abandonment, whilst he laments the rapid decay and fall of the ancient habitations[5]. In the interval

[1] "Hinc ad balnea non Neroniana
"Nec quæ Agrippa dedit, vel ille cujus
"Bustum Dalmaticæ vident Salonæ," &c.
Sidon. Apoll. Carmen ad Consentium, 23. written 466. Dissertazione, &c. p. 271.

[2] The Palatine had been occupied by the troops of Genserick, the Theatre of Pompey had been injured by fire, and was in decay—quid non solves O senectus, quæ tam robusta quassasti? Cassiod. var. lib. iv. epist. 51.

[3] "Amator fabricarum, restaurator civium." Excerpta de Theod. auctoris ignoti in fine Amm. Marcell.

[4] "Et nostris temporibus videatur antiquitas decentius innovata." Var. epist. 51. lib. iv.

[5] "Facilis est ædificiorum ruina incolarum substracta cus-

between the encomiums of Cassiodorus and the notices which Procopius has left of the miracles of Rome[1], the aqueducts had been broken[2]; the thermæ, the amphitheatre, the theatres, had all been abandoned, and the admiration of the historian is confined to the tomb of Hadrian[3], to the infinite number of statues[4], the works of Phidias, Lysippus, and Miron, and to the solicitude with which the Romans preserved as much as possible the more stable edifices of their city, and, amongst other objects, a venerable relic of their Trojan parent[5]. Even these

todia et cito vetustatis decoctione resolvitur, quod hominum præsentia non tuetur."

[1] De Bello Gothico, lib. i. cap. xix.

[2] The population must have been much diminished, since the Tyber was esteemed insalubrious, and the wells of Rome had been found insufficient for the people of Rome since the year 441, A. U. C. See Jul. Frontin. de acquæduct. lib. i. ap. Græv. Antiq. Roman. tom. iv.

[3] De Bello Gothico, lib. i. cap. xxii.

[4] De Bello Gothico, lib. iv. cap. xxiii.

[5] "Οι γε καὶ πολύν τινα βεβαραρωμένοι ἀιῶνα, τάς τε πόλεως διεσώσαντο οἰκοδομίας, καὶ τῶν ἐγκαλλωπισμάτων τὰ πλεῖστα ὅσα δὴν τε ἦν· χρόνῳ τὰ τοσούτῳ τὸ μῆκος, καὶ τῷ ἀπημελεῖσθαι, δι' ἀρετὴν τῶν πεποιημένων ἀντέχει· ἔτι μέν τοι καὶ ὅσα μνημεῖα τοῦ γένους ἐλέλειπτο ἔτι· ἐν τοῖς καὶ ἡ ναῦς αἰνέιου, τοῦ τῆς πόλεως οἰκιστοῦ, καὶ εἰς τόδε κεῖται, θέαμα παντελῶς ἄπιστον. Γοτθικων ἡ δ'. pag. 353. edit. 1607. cap. xxii. of the translation. The due weight must be given to these words: but the solidity of the structure seems, after all, the chief protection of the buildings.

detached ornaments must have been much diminished during the Gothic sieges. The Greek soldiers were not restrained from flinging down the statues of the mole of Hadrian on the heads of their assailants[1]; and Belisarius must have demolished not only such smaller materials, but many a contiguous structure, for his repeated rebuilding of the walls. We have other decided proofs of the early desertion and decline of the Cæsarean city. An edict of Majorian specifies as a common offence, that those who built houses had recourse to the ancient habitations, which could not have been dilapidated in the presence of a resident population, and which we know by the same edict to have been abandoned to the feeble protection of the laws[2]. The same fact is deducible from another prohibition, which forbade the extraction of precious metals from the ancient structures, a crime noticed before the end of

[1] De Bello Gothico, lib. i. cap. xxii. The Faun was found when Urban VIII. cleansed the ditch of the castle.

[2] Majorian reigned from 457 to 461. "Antiquarum ædium dissipatur speciosa constructio; et ut aliquid reparatur, magna diruuntur. Hinc jam occasio nascitur ut etiam unusquisque privatum ædificium construens, per gratiam judicum..... præsumere de publicis locis necessaria, et transferre non dubitet." This is quoted in the Decline and Fall, &c. cap. xxxvi. p. 175. vol. vi. oct. note 3.

the fourth century[1], and one of the evils which the regulations of Theodoric were intended to prevent[2]. This rapine supposes a solitude. In the subsequent periods of distress, when every precious object had been removed from above ground, the plunderers searched for subterranean treasures, and tore up the lead of the conduits[3]. The mere necessities of existence became the only care of a wretched population, from whom it would be unreasonable to expect either taste or attachment to the trophies of their former grandeur. That many of the works of sculpture fell where they stood, has been proved by the spots where they were found, after centuries of neglect. The same indifference which allowed the baths of Titus to be gradually buried beneath the soil, prevented the Laocoon from being removed from the niche which it

[1] In 367 Lampadius, the præfect, took all the lead, and iron, and brass, so collected, without any remuneration to the plunderers. Amm. Marcellini, lib. xxvii. cap. iii. pag. 524. edit. 1693.

[2] Præterea non minimum pondus, et quod facillimum direptioni est mollissimum plumbum de ornatu mœnium referuntur esse sublata. Variar. epist. lib. iii. cap. xxxi. pag. 50. edit. 1679.

[3] "Et confestim centenarium illud, quod ex eadem forma in atrio ecclesiæ Beati Petri decurrebat, dum per nimiam neglectus incuriam plumbum ipsius centenarii furtim jam plurima ex parte exinde ablatum fuisset." Anastas. in vit. S. Hadriani I. He is talking of the repair of the aqueduct and pipe of the Acqua Sabbatina.

originally adorned[1]. The Toro, the Hercules, the Flora, the Callipygian Venus, were all found in the baths of Caracalla, of which most probably they had been the ornaments.

The condition of the Romans may account for their neglect of monuments, which the elements themselves conspired to destroy. An earthquake shook the Forum of Peace for seven days, in the year 408[2]; but such were the convulsions of nature in the succeeding century, that Gregory the Great[3] naturally supposed the evils of which he had himself been witness to be the principal cause of the ruin around him. To these earthquakes, tempests,

[1] Pliny (Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi.) says, the Laocoon was in the house of the Emperor Titus. "..... Laocoonte qui est in Titi Imperatoris domo." They shew the red cellular niche, in the baths or palace of Titus, in which this group is said to have been found.

[2] Romæ in foro pacis per dies septem terra mugitum dedit. Mercellini Comitis, Chronic. ap. Sirmond. tom. ii. p. 274.

[3] St. Gregory, in his Dialogues, lib. ii. cap. xv. reports and confirms a prophecy of St. Benedict. "Cui vir dei respondit: *Roma gentibus non exterminabitur, sed tempestatibus coruscis, turbinibus, ac terræ motu fatigata marescet in semet ipsa.* Cujus prophetiæ mysteria nobis jam facta sunt luce clariora, qui in hac urbe dissoluta mœnia, eversas domos, destructas ecclesias turbine cernimus; ejusque ædificia longo senio lassata quia ruinis crebrescentibus prosternantur videmus." The reader may recollect how Mr. Gibbon has disposed of the prophecy.

and innundations, he attributed not only the depopulation of the city, but the fall of her dwellings, *the crumbling of her bones*[1]. The rise of the Tyber is specified as having overthrown many of the ancient edifices[2]. Pestilence and famine within the walls, and the Lombards without, had reduced her to a wilderness, and it is to be believed that the population shrunk at that period from many spots never afterwards inhabited. An important notice, hitherto never cited for the same purpose, informs us, that at the second siege of Rome by Totila, there was so much cultivated land within the walls, that Diogenes, the governor, thought the corn he had sown would be sufficient to supply the garrison and citizens in a protracted de-

[1] "Quid autem ista de hominibus dicimus cum ruinis crebrescentibus ipsa quoque destrui ædificia videmus quia postquam defecerant homines, etiam parietes cadunt ossa ergo excocta sunt, vacua ardet Roma...." 18 Homil. in Ezechiel. lib. ii. hom. vi. pag. 70. tom. v. opp. omn. Venet. 1776. This was in 592.

[2] "Tanta inundatione Tyberis fluvius alveum suum egressus est tantumque excrevit, ut ejus unda per muros urbis influere atque in ea maximam partim regionis occupavit ita ut plurima antiquarum ædium mœnia dejiceret." St. Gregor. Vita. per Paul. Diacon. tom. xv. p. 253. opp. S. Greg. See also Paul Diacon. de gestis Langob. lib. iii. cap. xxiii. for the *pestis inguinaria*.

fence[1]. The district of the Forum, however, had not yet become a solitude. A column, erected to the emperor Phocas, is an evidence that the ancient ground plan had not been buried in the year 608. And the same may be said of the Forum of Trajan, upon evidence not quite so precise[2]. The accretion of soil in the valleys, and even the mounts of Rome, could not have taken place under the foot of a population which was never entirely lost, and it is only from the total desertion of these buried sites that we must date the formation of the present level[3]. It appears that in 825 there

[1] Procop. de Bello Gothico, lib. iii. cap. xxxvi. Nardini, lib. i. cap. viii. has made the remark, but with another object in treating of the walls.

[2] The biographers of St. Gregory mention the Forum. "Idem vero perfectissimus et acceptabilis Deo sacerdos, cum quadam die per forum Trajani, quod opere magnifico constat esse extructum procederat." Paul. Diacon. in loc. cit. pag. 262. "Quod Gregorius per forum Trajani, quod ipse quondam pulcherrimis ædificiis venustabat," &c. Joan. Diacon. in loc. cit. p. 305. Paul Wanefrid was a Lombard of Forli, and taken prisoner by Charlemagne; the other deacon wrote in 872. Vid. de triplici S. Gregorii magni vita in loc. cit. pag. 246.

[3] Mr. Gibbon, cap. lxxi. p. 405. tom. xii. singularly gives Addison the merit of a discovery, which any one who had seen a picture of the half-buried ruins under the Capitol, and the hole in which the column of Trajan was sunk, might, and must, have anticipated.

were within Rome itself cultivated lands of considerable extent[1]. The contiguity of the immense ancient fabrics, when once in decay, must have been dangerous during earthquakes, which might shake them down, or in inundations, when the water might be confined, and prevented from retiring by the walls of buildings *as large as provinces*[2]. Such open spots as were decorated by single monuments were likely to be first overwhelmed by the deposit left by the water, and collected round those monuments. On this account the Forums, and even the Palatine, although an eminence, being crowded with structures, appear to have been

[1] The monastery of Farfa in 825 obtained from the Emperor Lothaire I. the confirmation of a grant of Pope Eugenius of two farms. "De duabus massis juris monasterii Sanctæ Bibianæ, quod est positum infra nobilissimam urbem Romanam, vel quæ ad easdem massas pertinere dignoscitur, quarum una Pompejana, et alia Balagai nuncupata." Chronicon Farfense, ap. Script. Rer. Italic. tom. ii. par. ii. pag. 383. edit. 1727. We know S. Bibiana to have been in Rome. Muratori says, "Dalla Chronica Farfensa apprendiamo, avere Papa Eugenio donate al monastero di Farfa due masse, appellate l'una Pompeiana, e l'altra Balagai, poste *infra nobilissimam Urbem Romanam:* il che ci fa conoscere, che entro Roma stessa si trovavano de' Buoni Poderi coltivabili." Annali d'Italia ad an 825. tom. iv. p. 533. Perhaps his translation and conclusion are rather licentious.

[2] "Lavacra in modum provinciarum structa" astonished Constantius. Amm. Marcell. lib. xvi. cap. x.

buried deeper than the other quarters, under the deposit of the river, and the materials of the crumbling edifices. The latter accumulation must be taken into the account, when it is recollected, that the broken pottery of the old city has, at some unknown period[1], been sufficient to form a mount 150 paces high, and 500 paces in length. The population was too languid to dig away the obstructions, and employed their remaining strength in transporting the smaller materials to the more modern and secure quarter of the town.

It is impossible to assign a precise date to the total desertion of the greater portion of the ancient site; but the calamities of the seventh and eighth centuries must have contributed to, if they did not complete the change. A scarcity[2] in the year 604, a violent earth-

[1] De eo perpetuum apud antiquos silentium. Donati Rom. Vet. lib. iii. cap. xiii. The most reasonable account of the Testacean mount seems to be that of Lucius Faunus, lib. iii. cap. iii. de antiquit. Urbis Romæ, ap. Sallengre, tom. i. p. 248. There was a college of potters established by Numa. The vicinity of the water made them fix themselves in the meadow on the banks of the Tyber. It was strictly forbidden to fling any obstructions into the river. The mound rose by degrees, and therefore unnoticed. It is strange, however, that the regionaries should not mention it.

[2] "Eoque tempore fuit fames in civitate Romana grandis." Anastas. in vit. Sabiniani. pag. 134.

quake[1] a few years afterwards, a pestilence[2] in or about the year 678, five tremendous inundations of the Tyber[3] from 680 to 797, a second

[1] "Eodem tempore factus est terræ motus magnus mense Augusti indictione undecima." Ibid. in vit. S. Deusdedit. He was pope from 614 to 617.

[2] "Similiter mortalitas major, atque gravissima subsecuta est mense suprascripto, Julio, Augusto, et Septemb. in urbe Roma, qualis nec temporibus aliorum Pontificum esse memoratur." Ibid. in vit. S. Agathon. pag. 142. Paul. Diaconus says, "Tantaque fuit multitudo morientium ut etiam parentes cum filiis, atque fratres cum sororibus apud urbem Romam ad sepulchra deducerentur." De gestis Langob. lib. vi. cap. v.

[3] In 685—715—717—791—797. Of that in 717, it is mentioned, "Per dies autem septem aqua Romam tenebat perversam." Anastas. in vit. S. Gregor. ii. p. 155. Paul. Diaconus tells, "His diebus Tyberis fluvius ita inundavit, ut alveum suum egressus multa Romanæ fecerit exitia civitati; ita ut in via Lata ad unam et semis staturam excresceret, atque a porta S. Petri usque ad Pontem Milvium acquæ se distendentes conjungerent." De gestis Langob. lib. vi. cap. xxxvi. From the mention made of the *Corso* being damaged, the descent of the city into the Campus Martius seems to be proved. At the same time the English inundated Rome. Ibid. cap. xxxvii.

The inundation of 791 tore down the Flaminian gate, and carried it as far as the arch called Tres facicellæ (the Arcus Portogalli) and rose to the height of two men. "Per triduum ipsum flumen, quasi per alveum, per civitatem currebat." Anastas. in vit. S. Hadriani, p. 194. The river kept the city under water for many days, and S. Hadrian was obliged to

famine in the pontificate of Pope Constantine[1], which continued for six and thirty months, a pestilence in the last year of the seventh century, and the assault of the Lombards for three months under Astolphus in 755; these are the events which compose the Roman history of this unhappy period.

The fabrics of the old town could receive no protection but from their solidity. The lawful sovereigns had degraded the capital of the world to the head of a duchy, and the only visit which an emperor of the east deigned to make to Rome was not to protect but to despoil her of all her valuable ornaments[2].

send provisions in boats to those living in the via Lata, "per naviculas morantibus via Lata cibos advexit."

The inundation in 797 is not in Anastasius, where Fea (Dissertazione, p. 309) finds it, but is in the "Index Vetustissimus Ducum Spoletonatorum et Abbatum Farfensium." Ap. Script. Rer. Ital. tom. ii. par. ii. p. 295. "DCCXCVII. Inundatio aquæ fit Romæ in via Lata ad duas staturas." It may be suspected that as both rose to the height of two men, there is some confusion, and that they were the same.

[1] Constantine was elected in 708. "Vir valde mitissimus, cujus temporibus in urbe Roma fames facta est magna per annos tres." Anastas. in vit. Constant. p. 152. There seems a full stop wanting after *mitissimus*: his misfortunes follow his virtues too quickly.

[2] "Omnia quæ erant in ære ad ornamentum civitatis deposuit, sed et ecclesiam beatæ Mariæ ad martyres, quæ de tegulis æreis erat cooperta, discoperuit." Anastas. in vit. St. Vitaliani. tom. i. p. 106.

The recorded plunder of Constans has affixed to that recreant name a greater share in the ruin of Rome than the concurrence of other calamities will allow; his robbery was confined to the bronze tiles of the Pantheon, and to whatsoever quantity of the precious metals could be collected in a residence of twelve days. He had the gleanings of Genserick, but he still left the bronze of the portico to be plundered by Urban VIII. and many other metallic decorations, to be melted into bells for the churches in the subsequent rise of the modern town, and for other pious uses of the Popes [1].

The period of the exarchate and of the Lombard domination is that of the lowest dis-

"Sed manens Romæ dies duodecim omnia quæ fuerint antiquitus instituta ex ære in ornamentum urbis abstulit: in tantum ut etiam basilicam Beatæ Mariæ quæ antea Pantheon vocata fuerat (vocabatur) discooperiret" Paul. Diaconi de gestis Langobard. lib. v. cap. xi. Fabricius says that Constans took away more in seven days than all the Barbarians had done in 258 years. Descriptio Romæ, cap. ii.

[1] The Abate Fea (Dissertazione, p. 407, et seq.) allows that whatever was saved was saved *by miracle*, and probably because buried under some heavy ruin, as the gilded Hercules, the Wolf, the Belvedere Pine. The bronze doors of Cosmas and Damianus were saved because they belonged to a church; those of St. Hadrian were carried away to the Lateran. There was a statue of bronze, a bull, in the Forum Boarium in the time of Blondus. "..... A foro Boario ubi æreum taurum aspicimus." Roma inst. lib. i. fo. 10.

tress of Rome. The most diligent enquiry has been unable to discover who were her acknowledged masters, or what was the form of her domestic government[1]. Subsequently to the extinction of the exarchate by Astolphus in 752, she had been abandoned, but was never formally resigned by the Greek Cæsars. After Gregory II. in 728 or 9, and Gregory III. in 741, had solicited the aid of Charles Martel against the Lombards[2], and against the iconoclast tyrants of Constantinople, it might be

[1] "Ipsa urbium regina Roma, quamdiu Langobardorum Regnum viguit, summis calamitatibus exagitata, atque in pejus ruens ex antiquo splendore decidebat." Antiq. Med. Ævi, tom. ii. p. 148. dissertatio 21.

[2] Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. pag. 304.

[3] Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. pag. 281, 286.

Mr. Gibbon has observed that "the Greek writers are apt to confound the times and actions of Gregory the 2d and 3d," (cap. xlix. p. 132. note 20. vol. ix. octavo.) and by some accident the following extraordinary error has been left in his text. "In his distress the first Gregory had implored the aid of the hero of the age, of Charles Martel." (cap. xlix. pag. 147. vol. ix. octavo.) The first Gregory had been dead more than a century. The historian could hardly mean the first of the 2d and 3d, which would be too equivocal an expression: besides which there was but a letter written, and there are some doubts as to the embassy of Gregory II. to Charles Martel; and the decided, perhaps repeated supplication to him was from Gregory III. (See Muratori, tom. iv. pag. 286, ad an. 741.) Nor does the mistake look like an error of the press, to be read, "Gregory had first implored," &c. since the application to Pepin was made by Stephen II.

thought that the supremacy of the Greek empire had ceased to be recognized. Yet a certain respect, at least, for the successors of Constantine, not only from the Romans but from their new patricians, Pepin and Charles of France, may be shewn to have endured within two years of the coronation of the latter hero[1] in the year 800. It is certain, however, that about this period the Romans had recurred to the memory of their former institutions, and had composed a corporation of uncertain form and number, advised rather than commanded by the Pope, who had silently usurped the sovereign title of *our Lord.* By this senate or this spiritual master had the *Byzantine* title of Consul or Patrician been offered to Charles Martel and conferred on Pepin. A letter is still preserved from the *Senate and People* to Pepin, Patrician of the Romans[2], and the reply of

[1] "Viene a fortificarsi la conghiettura proposta di sopra, cioè che durava tuttavia in Roma il rispetto all' Imperador Greco, ed era quivi riconosciuta la sua autorità." Annali d'Italia, ad an. 798. tom. iv. pag. 492. Gregory III. is usually called the first of the independent popes, but he certainly acknowledged the superiority of Eutichius exarch of Ravenna, to whom, as Anastasius tells us, he applied for permission to use six columns of some structure for St. Peter's church.

[2] The 36th letter of the Codex Carolinus, "scritta da tutto il senato e dalla generalità del Popolo Romano al re

the Frank monarch, recommending a deference to their bishop Paul I. must imply that the domestic sovereignty was divided between the pastor and the community at large. This mixed government, which must have sometimes assumed the appearance of anarchy, and at others degenerated into despotism, was contemplated with horror by those who recalled the lawful imperial sway of the Cæsars[1], and either to the people or the popes was applied the opprobrious regret that Rome was subject *to the slaves of slaves*, and to a barbarous populace drawn together from all the corners of the earth. The twelfth line of the following verses is the same read backwards as forwards, and is quoted from Sidonius Apollinaris to denote the retrograde fortune of Rome; "*e dovette*," says Muratori, "*una volta parere qualche meravigliosa cosa.*"—

Nobilibus fueras quondam constructa patronis
Subdita nunc servis. Heu male Roma ruis
Deseruere tui tanto te tempore reges:
Cessit et ad Græcos nomen honosque tuum

Pippino Patrizio de' Romani." See—Annali d'Italia ad an. 763. tom. iv. p. 331.

[1] Saint Gregory himself made the distinction between the republican subjects of an *Emperor* and the slaves of a *King*. "Hoc namque inter reges gentium et reipublicæ Imperatores distat, quod reges gentium, domini servorum sunt, Imperatores vero Reipublicæ domini liberorum." Lib. xiii. epist. 31.

In te nobilium rectorum nemo remansit
Ingenuique tui rura Pelasga colunt.
Vulgus ab extremis distractum partibus orbis
Servorum servi nunc tibi sunt domini,
Constantinopolis florens nova Roma vocatur
Mœnibus et muris Roma vetusta cadis.
Hoc cantans prisco prædixit carmine vates
Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor.
Non si te Petri meritum Paulique foveret
Tempore jam longo Roma misella fores
Manciribus subjecta jacens macularis iniquis
Inclyta quæ fueras nobilitate nitens[1].

A boasted descendant of Camillus was still left at the beginning of the fifth century[2]; but the unknown author of the above complaint would lead us to believe that the last relics of the Roman race had in his time disappeared.

[1] See—Antiq. Med. Ævi. edit. 1739. tom. ii. p. 148, 149. dissertat. 21. Muratori warns us not to think that the *servorum servi* alludes to the popes. The title may not yet have been used, but to whom do the words allude? The phrase is singular, and has been applied to only one character of antiquity, to Sextus Pompey; "Libertorum suorum libertus, *servorumque servus.*" Vell. Patercul. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 73. The slave of slaves had become the king of kings, when a dedicator to Sixtus Quintus told him

"Ingentes si facta decent ingentia reges
Te regum regem Sixte quis esse neget."

Da Barga, Comm. de obelisco, ap Græv. tom. iv. p. 1931.

[2] St. Jerome had a female correspondent who was a descendant of Camillus; and St. Gregory was of the patrician family of the Gordians. See—Bayle's Dictionary, article Camillus.

When the history of the pontiffs becomes all the history of Rome, we find each moment of peace and prosperity employed in rebuilding the walls, in burning lime, in constructing churches and shrines of martyrs, the materials of which must, it is evident, have been supplied from the deserted ruins. The repair of former damages, and the increasing population after the establishment of the Carlovingian princes, augmented the application to the same common quarry. The reconstruction of an aqueduct to convey the *acqua Vergine* to the Vatican by Hadrian I. at the end of the eighth century, seems to prove that the Campus Martius, and the quarter about St. Peter's, were then chiefly inhabited[1]. The altar of the apostles had gathered round it a crowd of votaries who became settlers, and for whose protection Leo IV.[2] surrounded with a wall the suburb of the Vatican. Respect for the mother of the churches, and the supposed scene of the baptism of Constantine, had preserved the inhabitants in the other extremity near the Lateran[3], and the greater was the po-

[1] Anastas. in vit. Had. p. 189.

[2] He was Pope from 847 to 855.

[3] Another aqueduct, the Claudian, was repaired for the service of the Lateran. The Marcian water was also again brought to Rome by Hadrian I. It seems that these streams

pulation at these opposite points, the more complete must have been the desertion of many intermediate quarters within the vast circuit of the walls. It has been already observed that some of these spots had become cultivated lands in the beginning of the ninth century.

The edifices of old Rome are lost for more than 200 years, but reappear in a regionary of the eighth or ninth century, who might make us suspect that the abandonment had not yet reached the Forum. His notice includes the following monuments, which he divides amongst the regions after the example of former itineraries[1]. The Thermæ of Alexander, of Commodus, of Trajan, of Sallust, with his *pyramid*, of Diocletian, of Constantine, and some baths near St. Silvestro *in capite*, a temple of Minerva, the temple of Jupiter[2], the Roman Forum, the Forum of Trajan, the three Circuses, Maximus, Flaminius and Agonalis, the Arch of Drusus called *recordationis*, the Arch of Severus, that of Titus

and the acqua Trajana had been before partially recovered, it is uncertain by whom, and had again fallen into decay.

[1] See—Bianchini's edition of the lives of the popes. Opusculum XV. prolegomena ad vitas Roman. Pontificum, tom. ii. pag. cxxii. Bianchini calls him a regionary of the eighth or ninth century. The date 875 has been assigned to him. See —Dissertazione sulle rovine, &c. p. 326.

[2] Bianchini calls this the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter without giving any reason.

and Vespasian, and of Gratian, Theodosius, and Valentinian, the Flavian Amphitheatre, that called Castrense, the Capitol, the Septizonium of Severus, a Palace of Nero, another attributed to Pontius Pilate, and a third near Santa Croce *in Gerusalemme*, the Theatres of Pompey and of Marcellus, the Pantheon, the Mica Aurea, the Antonine and Trajan Columns, a Nymphæum, an Obelisk near S. Lorenzo *in Lucina*, the Horses of the Baths of Constantine, the Horse of Constantine, the Elephant called Herbarium, a statue of the Tyber, several aqueducts, and nameless porticoes. It is worth while to observe how many of these monuments have been partially preserved up to this day, so that one might suspect that those of a slighter construction had already yielded to violence and time, and those only had remained which were to be the wonder, perhaps, of many *thousand* years. It is impossible to determine in what state were these monuments, although they might be supposed entire from the epithet *broken* being applied to the aqueducts[1]. At the same time we know that the Theatre of Pompey had been in decay three hundred years before, and that the Thermæ had been altogether disused for the same period, and must

[1] The aqueducts are called *Formæ*, a name which Cassiodorus gives them. Variar. lib. vii. Form vi. tom. i. pag. 118.

therefore have been in ruins[1]. The Baths of Sallust were, it may be thought, partially destroyed when the fire of Alaric was fatal to his palace. It is probable that many of the above objects served merely as land marks amongst the many churches which form the chief *memorabilia* of this ecclesiastical pilgrim, who adorns the twelfth region with the head of St. John the Baptist. In the same manner the Forum of Trajan is noted by two authors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although it must have been in ruins previous to either of those dates[2].

[1] We find mention of baths in the lives of the popes, as in that of St. Hadrian, "In balneis Lateranensibus;" but the Thermæ had never been frequented since the siege of Vitiges. The total change of manners in modern Rome has left it without a single bath open to the public; nor is this a usual commodity in private houses.

[2] Benedicti Beati Petri Canonici, liber Pollicitus, ad Guidonem de Castello, written, says Mabillon, ante annum MC.XLIII quo Guido iste ad pontificatus assumptus est, dictus Celestinus II. see—Ordo Romanus XI. ap Mabill. Museum Italicum, tom. ii. pag. 118. edit. Paris 1724.

See—Liber de mirabilibus Romæ ap. Montfaucon. Diarium Italicum, cap. xx. p. 283 to p. 301. edit. Paris 1702.

In the year 1162 there was a church with gardens and houses called *St. Niccolo alla colonna Trajana.* (Dissertazione sulle Rovine, pag. 355.) Flavius Blondus, without mentioning his authority, says that Symmachus I. built two churches there. Symmachus was pope in 500, "In ejus

The rising importance of the new city accelerated the ruin of the old. From the time that Rome again became worth a contest, we find her citizens in arms, sometimes against each other, sometimes against the pretenders to the imperial crown. The spirit of feudalism had distracted her inhabitants. Adalbert and Lambert, the Dukes of Tuscany and Spoleto, were invited to inflame the civil furies[1], and in the beginning of the tenth century, Alberic, Marquis of Camerino, had obtained the dominion of Rome, and the hand of the famous Marozia[2]. The expulsion of Hugo, king of Burgundy and Italy, the last of the three husbands of that "most noble patrician," by Alberic the son of the first, and the repeated assaults of the city by the expelled tyrant, are not to be forgotten amongst the causes of dilapidation[3]. The assumption of the imperial

fori excelsis mirabilibusque ruinis Symmachus primus Papa ecclesias S. Basilii et item S. Silvestri et Martini extruxit. Rom. instaurata, lib. ii. fo. 38. edit. Taurin 1527.

[1] A. D. 878, according to the Annali d' Italia.

[2] A. D. 910 to 925.

[3] Muratori calls Marozia "Nobilissima Patricia Romana," and appears to disbelieve a part of the "laidezze e maldicenze" charged to her by Luitprand, the repository of all the pasquinades and defamatory libels of the times. Annali d' Italia ad an. 911. tom. v. p. 267. Marozia had one lover a

crown by the first Otho, in 962, and the revolts of the Roman captains, or patricians, with that of Crescentius, against Otho the Second and Third[1], had renewed the wars in the heart of the city, and it is probable had converted many of the larger structures into ruins or strong holds.

The next appearance of the monuments is when they had become the fortresses of the new nobility, settled at Rome since the restoration of the empire of the west[2]. Some

Pope, Sergius III., and her son by him, or more probably by her first husband, Alberic, was John XI. Pope from 931 to 935. Guido, her second husband, Duke or Marquis of Tuscany, was master of Rome from 925 to 929; and Hugo, her third husband, from 929 to 932. Alberic her son *reigned* as patrician and consul from 932 to 954; beat away Hugo from Rome in 932, in 936, and perhaps 941, and although he had married the king's daughter, contributed to his expulsion from Italy in 946. His son Octavian reigned as patrician, or as Pope John XII., until 962.

[1] Romani capitanei patriciatus sibi tyrannidem vindicavêre —See—Romuald Salern. Chronic. Muratori. annali. tom. v. p. 480. ad an. 987. The Romans revolted in 974. 987. 995, 996. Crescentius stood a siege against Otho III., and was beheaded in 998; and another revolt took place in 1001, at the coronation of Conrad II. In 1027, the Germans and Romans again fought in the city.

[2] The Frangipani, the Orsini, the Colonni, were certainly foreign, and perhaps German families, although they all pretended a Roman descent. The first when reduced, in the beginning of the seventh century, to Mario, a poor knight, Signor of Nemi, published *their tree* to identify their family with that of Gregory the Great, "del quale si prova il prin-

of these monuments were perhaps entire, but it is evident that some of them were in ruins when they first served for dwellings or forts: such must have been the case with the theatres of Marcellus and of Pompey. How they came into the hands of their occupiers, whether by grant of the Popes, or by seizure, or by vacancy, is unknown; one instance has reached us in which Stephen, son of Hildebrand, consul of Rome in 975, gave to the monks of St. Gregory on the Cælian mount, an ancient edifice called the *Septem solia minor*, near the Septizonium of Severus, not to keep, but *to pull down*[1]. The character of those to whom the present was made, and the purpose for which it was granted, will account for the ruin of the ancient fabrics in that period. The monks were afterwards joint owners of the Coliseum[2], and

cipio e il fine mà vi è una largura di 200 anni in mezzo." See —Relation di Roma del Aimaden, p. 139. edit. 1672, which may be consulted for some short, but singular notices, respecting the Roman families.

[1] Mittarelli, Annali Camaldolesi, tom. i. Append. num. xli. Coll. 96. " *Donatio templi de Septem soliis minoris facta a Stephano filio quondam Ildebrandi consulis et ducis eidem Johanni abbati.* Id est illud meum templum, quod septem solia minor dicitur, ut ab hac die vestræ sit potestati et voluntati pro tuitione turris vestræ quæ septem solia major dicitur ad destruendum et sumptus deprimendum quantum vobis placuerit." P. 96. edit. 1755.

[2] See a note on the Coliseum.

the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius were put in the possession of religious communities, who abandoned them to total neglect[1]. Whatever were the means by which they obtained possession, the Orsini, in the XIth and XIIth centuries, had occupied the mole of Hadrian, and the theatre of Pompey; the Colonna, the Mausoleum of Augustus, and the baths of Constantine. The Conti were in the Quirinal. The Frangipani had the Coliseum and the Septizonium of Severus, and the Janus of the

[1] The Aurelian column was made over to St. Silvestro *in capite*, and a singular inscription is to this day seen under the porch of that church in which those who should *alienate* the column, and the offerings, are excommunicated by the authority of the bishops and cardinals, and "multorum clericorum, atque *laicorum* qui interfuerent."

The writer of this note saw it on the spot. A copy of it is given in Dissertazione, &c. p. 349. The date is 1119. There was a keeper of the column in 193, shortly after it was built. The column of Trajan was in the *care* of St. Niccolò, and the new senate and people in 1162 ordered that it should not be wantonly injured under pain of death and confiscation. See—Dissertazione, pp. 355, 356. Yet the Antonine column threatened to fall when repaired by Sixtus Quintus. See—de Columna triumphali commentarius, Josephi Castalionis ad Sixtum V. ap. Grævium. tom. iv. p. 1947. "Erat valde confracta et multis in locis non rimas modo verum et fenestras amplissimas, vel portas discussis marmoribus duxerat;" and the base of the column of Trajan was under ground until the time of Paul III.

Forum Boarium [1], and a corner of the Palatine. The Savelli were at the tomb of Metella. The Corsi had fortified the Capitol. If the churches were not spared, it is certain the pagan monuments would be protected by no imagined sanctity, and we find that the Corsi family had occupied the Basilica of St. Paul [2], without the walls, and that the Pantheon was a fortress defended for the Pope [3].

When, in the eleventh century, the quarrels between the Church and the Empire had embroiled the whole of Italy, Rome was necessarily the chosen scene of combat. Within her walls there was space to fight and there were fortresses to defend. We read accordingly, in the annals of those times, of armies encamped on the Aventine, and moving from the tomb of Hadrian to the Lateran, or turning aside to the Coliseum or the Capitol, as if through a desert, to the attack of the strong posts occupied by the respective partizans of the Pope or the Empire. Gregory VII. may have the merit of having founded that power to which modern Rome owes all her importance, but it is equally certain, that to the same pontiff must be

[1] This was called Turris Cencii Frangipani, and the remains of a fort are still left upon the summit.

[2] Annali d' Italia, ad an. 1105. p. 344. tom. vi.

[3] See—a note on the Pantheon.

ascribed the final extinction of the city of the Cæsars; a destruction which would have been classed with the havoc of religious zeal, did it not belong more properly to ambition[1]. The Emperor Henry IV., the troops of the Pope's nephew, Rusticus, and the Normans of Robert Guiscard, were more injurious to the remains of Rome, from 1082 to 1084, than all the preceding Barbarians of every age. The first burnt a great part of the Leonine city, and ruined the portico of St. Peter: he destroyed also the long portico from the Ostian gate to the church of St. Paul. In his last irruption he levelled a part of the Septizonium to dislodge Rusticus, razed the fortresses of the Corsi on the Capitol[2], and battered the mole of Hadrian. The Normans[3] and Saracens of Guiscard's army,

[1] Annali d' Italia. ad an. 1082, 1083, 1084. tom. vi. p. 273 to 282.

[2] "Domos Corsorum subvertit, dehinc septem solia, quibus Rusticus nepos prædicti Pontificis continebatur, obsidere cum multis machinis bellicis attentavit, de quibus quamplurimas columnas subvertit." Baroniis. Annales Ecclesiast. ad an. 1084. tom. xvii. p. 551. Lucæ 1740.

[3] "Robertus autem dux Romam cum exercitu noctu ingressus dum ad ecclesiam Sanctorum Quatuor Coronatorum advenisset ex consilio Cincii Romanorum Consulis ignem urbi injecit: Romani igitur rei novitate perculsi dum extinguendo igni toti incumberent, Dux ad arcem St. Angeli continuo properans."....Leo Ostiensis. (a cotemporary) ap. Baron. p. 553. in loc. cit.

Bertholdus has these stronger words: "Robertus Guis-

with the papal faction, burnt the town from the Flaminian gate to the Antonine column, and

cardus, Dux Northmannorum in servitium Sancti Petri post kal. Maii Romam armata manu invasit, fugatoque Henrico totam urbem Gregorio Papæ rebellem penitus expoliavit, et magnam ejus partem igni consumpsit, eo quod Romani quendam ejus militem vulneraverunt." Ap. Baron. loc. citat. p. 552. A poet, Hugo Flaviniacensis, says only, "Quibusdam ædibus incensis."—Another author, "Immo ipse cum suis totam regionem illam, in qua Ecclesia Sancti Silvestri, et Sancti Laurentii in Lucina sitæ sunt, penitus destruxit, et fere ad nihil redegit——— Regiones illas circa Lateranum, et Colisæum positas igne comburere." Cardin. de Aragonia et alior. Vitæ Pontif. Rom. Ap. Script. Rer. Ital. tom. iii. p. 313.—And other writers, "Per diversa loca civitatis miscere jubet incendia..... Ipsis ergo superatis, et civitate in magna sui parte collisa." Anonymi Vaticani. Historia. Sicula. ap. Scriptor. Rer. Ital. tom. viii. p. 773. It is not known when he lived.

"Dux itaque Romam ingressus cepit maximam partem urbis, hostiliter incendens et vastans a Palatio Laterani usque Castellum S. Angeli, ubi Papa Gregorius oppugnabatur." Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon, ap. Scriptor. Rer. Ital. tom. vii. p. 175. He was archbishop of Salerno from 1153 or 1154 to 1181. "Il che forse non merita molta credenza:" so Muratori thinks, Annali ad an. 1084.

"Urbs maxima ex parte incendio, vento admixto accrescente, consumitur." Gauferdi Malaterræ, ibid. tom. v. p. 588. Hist. Sicula.

Landulfus Senior, the Milanese historian, whom the writers all attack, because he declared against the mad ambition and celibacy of Gregory VII., and for the introduction of whom in his collection, Muratori thought himself obliged to make an apology, has these strong expressions on Guiscard's fire. "Quid multa? tribus civitatis partibus, multis

laid waste the sides of the Esquiline to the Lateran; thence he set fire to the region from that church to the Coliseum and the Capitol, or, according to some authorities, to the Tyber. He attacked the Coliseum for several days, and finished the ruin of the Capitol. It is reasonable to believe that the flames were arrested by the wilderness which had before existed to the south of these positions, and, indeed, in other quarters. Besides the former notice of farms in Rome, we find that there were *lands cultivated and uncultivated* in the ninth region of the city, about the Thermæ of Alexander, so early as the year 998[1].

The conflagration of Guiscard created or confirmed a solitude much more extensive than is embraced by that "spacious quarter between the Lateran and the Coliseum," to which it is confined by our own historian. From that period at least must be dated the desolation of a great part of the Esquiline, and all the

que palatiis Regum Romanorum adustis, Gregorius demum filiis male crismatis filiabusque pejus consecratis, cui jam spes ulla vivendi in civitate non erat ab urbe exiliens cum Roberto Salernum profectus est. Ubi per pauca vivens tempora tamquam malorum pœnam emeritus est." Hist. Mediol. lib. iv. cap. iii. Script. Rer. Italic. tom. iv. p. 120. Landulphus was a cotemporary writer.

[1] There were three churches also in these precincts rising amongst *crypts* and fragments of columns: a sign to whom the destruction should be referred. See—Dissertazione, &c. p. 357.

Viminal, and much of the Cœlian hill, including the irretrievable ruin perhaps of the Coliseum, and certainly of many of the remaining structures of the Forums and the Sacred Way [1]. A cotemporary writer [2] says, that all the regions of the city were ruined; and another spectator, who was in Rome [3] twelve years afterwards, laments, that although what remained could not be equalled, what was ruined could never be repaired. What chiefly excited his astonishment was the beauty of the statues, which the gods themselves might survey with envy, and which, in his opinion at least, were worthy of being worshipped on the sculptor's account.

[1] There was a proverb, even in this day, which speaks the beauty of the Roman edifices: "Unde in proverbium dictum est: *Mediolanum in clericis, Papia in deliciis, Roma in ædificiis, Ravenna in ecclesiis.*" Landulfi, Sen. lib. iii. cap. i. p. 96.

Flavius Blondus quotes the epistles of Gregory VII., and his biographer Pandulphus, above cited, for the battles of the Coliseum, but they are not mentioned in the first, they may be in the second. He attributes the desolation of Rome, as he saw it, to Guiscard; this, however, was not Cæsarean Rome, but that restored by the Popes. "Ea nos et alia Henrici quarti temporibus gesta considerantes, conjicimus urbem Romanam quæ Pontificum Romanorum beneficio imminutas longe supra vires non parum *instauraverat*, tunc prima ad hanc quæ nostris inest temporibus rerum exiguitatem esse perductam." Quoted in Dissertazione, &c. p. 342. Query *instaurata erat*.

[2] Boninzone, bishop of Sutri, in Dissertazione, p. 340.

[3] Hildebert, archbishop of Tours, was in Rome in 1106. William of Malmsbury, De gestis Rer. Angl. lib. iii. p. 134, gives the following elegy—

William of Malmsbury, who reports the elegy of the latter writer, also informs us, that, comparatively speaking, Rome was now become a little town. In those times the rage of the conflicting factions was often vented against the houses of their enemies, and their destruction must have involved that of the neighbouring monuments, or of those in which the towers

Par tibi Roma nihil, cum sis prope tota ruina
Quam magna fueris integra fracta doces.
Proh dolor! urbs cecidit cujus dum specto ruinas
Penso statum, solitus dicere; Roma fuit.
Non tamen annorum series, non flamma, nec ignis
Ad plenum potuit hoc abolere decus.
Tantum restat adhuc, tantum ruit, ut neque pars stans
Æquari possit, diruta nec refici.
Confer opes, ebur, et marmor, superumque favorem
Artificum vigilent in nova facta manus.
Non tamen aut fieri par stanti fabrica muro
Aut restaurari sola ruina potest.
Cura hominem potuit tantam componere Romam
Quantum non potuit solvere cura deum.
Hic superum formas superi mirantur et ipsi,
Et cupiunt fictis vultibus esse pares.
Non potuit natura deos hoc ore creare
Quo miranda deum signa creavit homo
Vultus adest his numinibus, potiusque coluntur
Artificum studio quam deitate sua.
Urbs felix si vel dominis urbs illa careret
Vel dominis esset turpe carere fide.

George Fabricius gives a part of this elegy in his Epistola Nuncupatoria prefixed to his Descriptio Romæ, ap. Græv. tom. iii.

of the Roman nobles were, in many instances, built. In 1116 the citizens revolting against Pope Paschal II., threw down[1] several of the dwellings of the Pietro Leone family. The Emperor Lothaire II. in 1133 or 1134, pitched his camp on the Aventine. Innocent II. was in possession of the Lateran, the Coliseum, and the Capitol; and the partisans of the anti-pope, Anaclete, had the Vatican, the castle of St. Angelo, and many other strong places of the city[2]. In the annals of the XIIth century these strong places of Rome are mentioned as if they stood not in a city, but in a province. The struggles between the pontiffs and the people, the revolution of Arnold of Brescia[3], renewed the contests of Vitellius and Sabinus for the Capitol, from which were alternately driven the adherents of the new senate and the friends of the Pope. The Basilica of St. Peter's was

[1] Annali d' Italia, tom. vi. p. 384.

[2] Mr. Gibbon says, "I cannot recover in Muratori's original lives of the Popes (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. p. 1.) the passage that attests this hostile partition," namely, "whilst one faction occupied the Vatican and the Capitol, the other was entrenched in the Lateran and Coliseum," cap. lxxi. p. 420. vol. xii. The division is mentioned in Vita Innocentii Papæ II. ex Cardinale Aragonio, Script. Rer. Ital. tom. iii. part i. p. 435, and he might have found frequent other records of it at other dates.

[3] It began in 1143, and was matured in 1145.

fortified for the people, and in those commotions (in 1145) it is recorded that many of the towers and palaces of the Roman nobles were levelled with the ground[1].

Antiquaries have been able to catch a glimpse of the ruins fifty years subsequently to the fire of Guiscard, in some account of the ceremonials and processions of the papal court, written by a canon and chorister of St. Peter's[2],

[1] Annali d' Italia, tom. vi. p. 481.

[2] Benedicti. Beati. Petri. Canonici, &c. quoted before. He mentions the Arch of Gratian, Theodosius, and Valentinian, near the Ælian bridge; the Obelisk of Nero; the Circus of Alexander, in the Piazza Navona; the Temple of Concord, near the Arch of Severus; the Arch and Temple of Nerva (Nerviæ); a Temple of Janus; the Forum of Trajan; the Forum of Cæsar; the Arch of Titus and Vespasian, called Septem Lucernarum; the Arch of Constantine; the Coliseum; the Theatre of Pompey; the Pantheon, which he is thought to have called Porticus Agrippinæ, though in fact he calls it Sancta Maria Rotunda, Militiæ Tiberianæ, on the Quirinal; the Arch of Piety; the Memoria, or Temple, or Castle of Adrian; the Templum Fatale, near the Temple of Concord; the Pine, near the Palatine; the Arcus Manús Carneæ; the Mamertine dungeon; the Asylus, through the flinty road, (Silicem) where Simon Magus fell, and near the Temple of Romulus; the Meta Sudans; the Sepulchre of Romulus, near the Vatican; a Portico of the Gallati before the Temple of the Sybil; the Temple of Cicero; the Portico of the Comori, or Crinori; the Basilica of Jupiter; the Arch of Flaminius; the Porticus Severinus; the Temple of Crati-

who, besides those monuments whose names are recognisable, mentions several objects disfigured by the barbarism of the times.

The caution before given must be repeated. There is good reason to suspect that many of the monuments which he mentions were not entire, but were noted as landmarks, as they might be at this day. The same canon gives us to understand, that the *roads in the city* were then so bad, that in the short days the Pope was obliged to conclude his procession before he came to the station prescribed by the ritual[1]. The language in which these ceremonies are described, is as barbarous as the ceremonies themselves; of which a cardinal, who transcribed another ritual belonging to the same

cula; the island Milicena and the Draconorium; the Via Arenula; the Theatre of Antoninus; the Palace of Cromatius, where was the Holomitreum, or Oloritreum; the Macellus Lunanus, or Eumanus (an Arch, probably that of Gallienus); the Temple of Marius, called Cimber; the Merulana; the arcus in Lathone; the house of Orpheus. See—Museum. Italicum. tom. ii. p. 118 to 157, edit. Paris, 1724.

[1] "Sed propter parvitatem diei et difficultatem viæ, facit stationem ad Sanctam Mariam Majorem, et vadit in secretarium." Ibid. num. 17, p. 126. The triumph of Aurelian lasted so long that it was dark before he reached the palace, but from a very different reason. "Denique vix nona hora in capitolium pervenit. Sero autem ad palatium." Vopisc. in Vita Aurelian.

century, has also preserved an extraordinary specimen. It would be difficult to find a more deplorable picture of human vicissitude than that afforded by the contrast of the triumph of Pompey through republican Rome, and the progress of a Pope of the twelfth century, on the day of his coronation, preceded by his sub-deacon with a spitting-towel, followed by the new senators with their provision of wine, meat, and towels, and picking his way, amongst fallen fragments, from shrine to shrine, and ruin to ruin[1].

The monuments are occasionally mentioned in the struggles between the pontiffs and the

[1] "Ante dominum Papam aliquantulum sequestratus incedit prior subdiaconus regionarius cum toalea, ut cum voluit dominus Papa spuere possit illo gausape os suum mundare." Ordo Romanus XII. by Oricius de Sabellis, cardinal and chamberlain to Celestine III. He was afterwards Honorius III. The ritual was used before the year MCXCII. See—Museum Italicum, tom. ii. p. 165 to p. 220.

"Senatores, quando comedunt, habere debent *lavinam* mediam vini et mediam clareti in unaquaque die coronationis. Eiisdem etiam datur toalea, ubi comedunt, a panetariis, et postmodum redditur ipsis. Pro quadraginta comestionem recipiunt unaquaque die coronationis." Onufrius Panvinius renders lavinam "psalmam, or salmam, quo nomine sagina seu onus ac sarcina equi aliusque animalis oniferi intelligitur." Ibid. num. xxxvi. p. 202. As the new senators had food for *forty* allowed them, we may guess at their usual number, which has been so uncertain.

emperors of the house of Suabia, and the intestine factions of the nobles, in which the strong places, the Coliseum, the Septizonium, the Mole of Hadrian, the Palatine castle of the Frangipani, were repeatedly assaulted and taken. In 1150 the people attacked and took certain towers belonging to the adherents of the Pope and William of Sicily.

We find, in the Annals for 1167, that the Germans of Frederic Barbarossa assaulted the Vatican for a week, and the Pope saved himself in the Coliseum[1]. The Colonna were driven from the mausoleum of Augustus. After the Popes had begun to yield in the unequal contest with the senators and people, and had ceased to be constantly resident at their capital, the field was left open for the wars of the senators, that is, of the nobles themselves. The Colonna and Ursini then appear amongst the destroyers of the city; and when, to arrest their violence, the people elected the senator Brancaleone (in 1252), the expedient of the Bolognese magistrate was to throw down not only 140 of the towers of the refractory nobles[2], but, if we are to believe the

[1] Annali, tom. vi. p. 576, et seq.

[2] "Brancaleo interim senator Romanus, turres nobilium Romanorum diruit et eorundem dominos incarceravit." Mat. Paris. Henric. III. p. 972, edit. Lond. 1640.

"Eodem quoque anno senator Romanus Brancaleo videns

Augustan history of Henry VII., "many palaces of kings and generals, the remains of ages since the building of the city, the thermæ, the fanes, and the columns," of the old town. If this were the case, the tumults and the repose of Rome were alike destructive of her ancient fabrics. This record must, however, be believed with some reserve; and, indeed, the same history informs us, that there were relics which escaped the vigour of this administration, and

insolentiam et superbiam nobilium Romanorum non posse aliter reprimi nisi castra eorum, qui erant quasi spoliatorum carceres, prosternerentur, dirui fecit eorundem nobilium turres circiter centum et quadraginta, et solo tenus complanari." Ibid. p. 975.

"Fuerat enim superborum potentum et malefactorum urbis malleus et extirpator, et populi protector et defensor, veritatis et justitiæ imitator, et amator." Ib. p. 980.

[1] "Nec hactenus subsistit viri audentis [*Jacob-Joannis-Arloti degli Stephanesci*] acerbitas ut si quidem Brancaleonem, Bononiensem (qui regum, ac ducum per tot ab urbe condita sæcula palatia, thermas, fana, columnas, verterat in ruinas) ipse memorabiliter superaret." Alberti Mussati, historia Augusta, de gestis. Henrici VII. lib. xi. rubrica xii. ap. Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. x. p. 508, edit. Mediol. 1727. Mussatus was a Paduan, born about the year 1260, a laureate poet, and an historian. See the preface by Muratori, prefixed to the collection, tom. x. &c.

Mr. Gibbon (cap. lxix. p. 286 to 288, vol. xii. oct.), who has copied the eulogy of Matthew Paris, does not seem at all aware that Brancaleone applied his *hammer* to the ancient fabrics. Mussatus, however, was a contemporary.

which a rival of the fame of Brancaleone (in 1313) intended to destroy. But his labours were confined to a single tower, which impeded the passage of the people across the Tyber, at the bridge of Santa Maria.

There were intervals between the death and choice of the Popes, when the city seems to have been unprovided with any recognised authorities, and the senate itself had no representative. Such an interregnum occurred after the death of Nicholas IV. in 1291, and six months of civil war[1] are described by a spectator as having reduced Rome to the condition of a town *besieged, bombarded,* and *burnt.* The *pe-*

[1] "Assumpti populi capitolia jussu
Ascendunt: sed morte ducis vis annua mense
Clauditur Ursini, timidoque furentis in arma
Descensu, dum scripta petit, dum fossa sigilla.
Quo gradior? quid plura sequor, quæ texere longum?
Hoc dixisse sat est; Romam caruisse senatu.
Mensibus exactis, heu! sex, belloque vocatum
In scelus, in socios, fraternaque vulnera patres.
Tormentis jecisse viros immania saxa
Perfodisse domos *trabibus*, fecisse ruinas
Ignibus, incensas turres."

See—Vita Celestini Papæ V. opus metricum. Jacobi Cardinalis S. Georgii ad velum-aureum. Coævi et in Papatu familiaris. Script. Rer. Ital. tom. iii. p. 621, cap. iii. This classical cardinal chooses to correct *velabro,* the actual old word, into velum-aureum. The *trabes* were battering rams, called *gatti,* cat's-head.

trariæ, or engines for discharging stones, which unfortunately survived the loss of other ancient arts, had arrived, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to the pernicious perfection of darting enormous masses, perhaps of 1200 pounds weight. They are noted amongst the instruments of destruction employed at Rome in this and the subsequent period, and were erected on the basilicas and towers[1].

A year previously to the attempt of the second Brancaleone[2], the Emperor, Henry VII. had found that all the towers had not been thrown down by the Bolognese senator, for he was obliged to drive the Annibaldi from the Torre de' Militii, from the tower of St. Mark, and from the Coliseum; and, so late as the reign of Martin V. there were forty-four towers in one *borgo* of the city[3].

[1] Antiq. Med. Ævi. Dissert. 26, p. 432, tom. 1. Italian edition. The Romans used them in the ninth century.

[2] His name was James-John-Arloti-Stephanisci. See the above note 1, p. 135. The Abate Fea, Dissertazione, &c. p. 361, 362, seems to overlook that this Stephanisci and his adherents did not succeed. "Sed secus ac præmeditati sunt, fortuna, successusque vota eorum distraxere," says Mussatus, in loc. citat. The Abate believes he discovers signs of modern work on the portico of the temple of Faustina, and above the arch of Pantani, which he thinks were thrown down by Brancaleone.

[3] Dissertazione 26, sopra le Antichita Italiane, p. 446. tom. i. edit. Milan, 1751.

The coronation of the Emperor Henry VII. was attended with battles fought in every quarter of the city from the Vatican to the Lateran[1]; and whilst he received the ensigns of universal empire in the latter church, his rival John, the brother of Robert of Naples, was in possession of the fortress (the church) of St. Peter's, and of several other posts in the heart of Rome. The fall of houses, the fire, the slaughter, the ringing of the bells from all the churches, the shouts of the combatants, and the clanging of arms, the *Roman* people rushing together from all quarters towards the Capitol—this universal uproar was the strange, but not unusual, prelude to the coronation of a Cæsar. A spectator of these disasters records[2], that they continued after the Emperor had retired from Rome to Tivoli, and that the cardinals apprehended the total destruction of the city.

[1] "Historia Augusta, Albert. Mussati in loc. citat. lib. viii. Rubrica IV. conversatio Cæsaris cum Romanorum principibus, et cohortatio ad dandas fortilitias." Henry made a speech to these princes, and called them "*Quirites.*" See Rubrica V.

[2] See—Iter Italicum Henrici VII. Imperat. Nicolai episcopi Botrontinensis ap. Scriptores Rerum Italicarum, tom. ix. p. 685. "Rebus quas narrat interfuit." Muratori says, in his preface,

"Deinde Cardinales videntes commotionem populi et urbis continuam destructionem." Ibid. p. 919.

It is doubtful to what period to assign an account of the ruins which a pilgrim saw and described before this last calamity. The book on "*the Wonders of Rome*" which has been before cited, should appear to have been written before Brancaleone had commenced his operations against the towers of the nobles, for there are a great many of such objects noticed by the pilgrim. The eyes and ears of this "barbarous topographer[1]" are not so valuable to us as Mr. Gibbon appears to have supposed; for notwithstanding his use of the present tense, he speaks certainly of many objects either partially ruined or totally overthrown. The number of the theatres and arches seen by him is nearly equal to that in the plan of old Rome: he talks of an imperial palace in the Palatine, of a palace of Romulus, and, in other respects, is ambitious of telling what he had heard, rather than what he had seen[2]. Of his antiquarian lore our historian has

[1] Decline and Fall, &c. cap. lxxi. p. 399, vol. xxi. oct.

[2] "Palatia magna imperatorum ista sunt, palatium majus in Palentio monte positum." See—Montf. Diar. Ital. in loc. citat. p. 284.

"Palatium Romuli inter S. Mariam novum et S. Cosmatem ubi sunt duæ ædes pietatis et concordiæ, ubi posuit Romulus statuam suam auream dicens." "Non cadet nisi virgo paret; statim ut parturit virgo, statua illa corruit." Ibid.

given a specimen in his account of the Capitoline bells and statues[1]; and to this may be added, that he calls the Fasti of Ovid the *martyrology*, because it contains mention of *nones* and *kalends*. The pilgrim was perhaps as learned as the people of Rome, some of whom, in the next century, believed that the sports of the Testacean mount, and the rolling cart-loads of live hogs down that hill, were the festal amusements of Cato and Cicero[2].

The absence of the popes from the year 1306 to 1376 has been esteemed peculiarly calamitous to the ancient fabrics: but this supposition is founded upon the apparently false conception, that the bishops of Rome protected the monuments, and that the integrity of many, even of the larger structures, was protracted to the fourteenth century. The only protection of which the remains of the old town could boast, during the middle ages, proceeded from the popular government, which on one occasion prohibited the injury of the column of Trajan under pain of death[3]. The senate and

[1] Decline and Fall, cap. lxxi. p. 395, tom. xii. octav.

[2] "Ludi fiunt agonales, aut in campo quem Testaceum appellant, quem nonnulli hodie ex vulgo putant veterum senatorum gestamen extitisse." See—Frederici III. advent. Rom. ap. Museum Italicum, tom. i. p. 258, edit. 1724.

[3] See note [1], p. 123.

the people were invested with the nominal guardianship of the edifices not occupied by the nobles, and in much later times may be discerned to have shown some respect to the memorials of their ancestors. A northern German, who came to Rome in the pontificate of Pius IV. and whom Flaminius Vacca calls a Goth, applied to the apostolic chamber for permission to excavate at the base of some of the ancient structures, in search of treasure, which his barbarous ancestors were supposed to have left behind them in the precipitancy of a three days plunder. The German was told that permission must be obtained from the Roman people, to whom the monuments belonged. It seems that he procured leave to commence his labours; but having been observed to dig deeply, the populace, alarmed at his progress, which endangered their arch, and indignant that the Goths should return to complete the spoliation of Alaric, drove the excavator from his labours, with a violence which proved nearly fatal to him[1].

Had it been possible to establish the popular government which was the aim of Rienzi,

[1] Memorie di Flaminio Vacca, p. xvi. num. 103. The Memoirs were written in 1594, and are at the end of one of the Italian editions of Nardini.

during the absence of the popes, the Romans, whose love of liberty was to be kept alive by a constant reference to the institutions of their ancestors, would have been taught to venerate, though blindly, the trophies of their former glory. The tribune would not have partaken with Colonna alone the pride and pleasure to be derived from the study of those eloquent remains. Notwithstanding their pastor had deserted them, and they were a prey to the disorders occasioned by the struggles of their ferocious nobles, the period of the exile at Avignon is distinguished for the decency and magnificence with which their public functions were performed[1]. In proportion as they shook off the papal yoke, they appear to have recovered some portion of their ancient splendour, and a change has been observed to have taken place

[1] "Veniva la persona del Senatore con maestà a cavallo sopra bianca chinea, &c.

"Veniva il Gonfaloniere del Popolo Romano: e questo dignità si in pace, come in guerra porta lo standardo grande della libertà Romana, il quale era di tabi cremesino con le lettere + S. P. Q. R."

See Ordine e magnificenza de i magistrati Romani nel tempo che la Corte del Papa stava in Avignone. Antiq. Med. Ævi. tom. ii. p. 855, Dissert. 29. The writer praises not only their scarfs and velvets, but their justice, and virtue, and republican pride.

in their manners so early as the middle of the thirteenth century. They received the unfortunate Conradin[1] in 1268 with a state which surprised his suite. The desolation of the city during the papal residence at Avignon has been selected from ages of more rapid destruction, because it has been transmitted to us in all the colours of eloquence. Petrarch, however, has been unfairly quoted as a proof of what Rome suffered by the absence of the popes[2]. It should be remembered, that his first wish was the establishment of the republic of Rienzi, and the second, the reign and presence of an emperor at Rome: whilst the reconciliation of the shepherd with his flock was only the last resource which remained for a patriot and a Roman who had lost all hope of liberty or empire[3]. One of those shepherds, Innocent VI., thought Petrarch a sorcerer. The poet of the Ca-

[1] Antiq. Med. Ævi. dissert. 23. tom. ii. pag. 313. Muratori, according to the old way of thinking, talks of "quel ladro del lusso."

[2] By the Abate Fea in his dissertation.

[3] Decline and Fall, c. lxx. pag. 363. tom. xii. oct. See also Mémoires pour la vie de Petrarque, liv. iii. tom. ii. p. 335. for Rienzi: also, liv. iv. tom. iii. pag. 66. for the emperor Charles. For what he thought of the church, see liv. iv. p. 277. tom. iii. edit. Amsterdam, 1747.

pitol[1] was overwhelmed first with delight and then with regret. He complained that the very ruins were in danger of perishing; that the nobles were the rivals of time and the ancient barbarians[2]; and that the columns and precious marbles of Rome were devoted to the decoration of the slothful metropolis of their Neapo-

[1] For the surprise of Petrarch, when he first came to Rome, see his letter to John Colonna, de reb. familiarib. epist. lib. ii. ep. xiv. pag. 605. edit. Basil, 1581, "ab urbi Roma quod expectat," &c. Colonna, however, had told him not to expect too much. "Solebas enim, memini, me veniendo dehortari hoc maxime prætextu, ne ruinosæ urbis aspectu famæ non respondente atque opinioni meæ, ex libris conceptæ, ardor meus ille lentesceret." Colonna's evidence is better than Petrarch's, who would be astonished now, as we are, at what still remains.

[2] Nec te parva manet servatis fama ruinis.
Quanta quod integræ fuit olim gloria Romæ
Reliquiæ testantur adhuc; quas longior ætas
Frangere non valuit; non vis aut ira cruenti
Hostis, ab egregiis franguntur civibus, heu! heu!
Quare rabies occurre malis, hoc scilicet unum.
Quod ille (*Hannibal*) nequivit
Perfecit hic aries—tua fortia pectora mendax
Gloria non moveat, &c.

Carmina Latina, l. ii. epist. Paulo Annibalensi, xii. pag. 98. Petrarch presumed that the ruins around him had been occasioned by the mischiefs which he saw, and which were *partly* the cause of dilapidation.

litan rivals. Yet it appears that these columns and marbles were taken from palaces comparatively modern, from the thresholds of churches, from the shrines of sepulchres, from structures to which they had been conveyed from their original site, and finally from *fallen* ruins[1]. The solid masses of antiquity are not said to have suffered from this spoliation, and the edifices, whose impending ruin affected the laureate, were the sacred Basilicas then converted into fortresses[2]. The great earthquake of 1349

[1] The distinction is carefully to be observed. The words of Petrarch are: "Denique post vi aut senio collapsa palatia, quæ quondam ingentes tenuerunt viri, post diruptos arcus triumphales (unde majores horum forsitan corruerunt) de ipsius vetustatis ac propriæ impietatis fragminibus vilem questum turpi mercimonio captare non puduit."

See—Epistola hortatoria ad Nichol. Laurentium. Trib. P. Q. R. de capessenda libertate, pag. 536.

"Sed quo animo, da quæso misericors Pater temerariæ devotioni meæ veniam, quo inquam, animo, tu ad ripam Rhodani sub auratis tectorum laquearibus somnium capis, et Lateranum humi jacet et ecclesiarum mater omnium tecto carens, et ventis patet, ac pluviis, et Petri ac Pauli sanctissimæ domus tremunt, et apostolorum quæ nunc ædes fuerat jam ruina est." Petrarch wrote this to Urban V. who began his reign in 1352. Epist. rer. sen. lib. vii. epist. i. opera. pag. 815. tom. ii.

[2] "Quod templa celeberrima, et sanctissima in Christianitate, augusta illa monumenta pietatis Constantini Magni,

may have been more pernicious than human violence, and would appear, from Petrarch[1] and from another authority[2], to have thrown down some of the ancient monuments; and an inundation of the Tyber in 1345 is faithfully recorded amongst the afflictions of the times. The summits of the hills alone were above the

ubi Summi Pontifices, cum insignibus supremæ suæ dignitatis capiunt possessiónem Sedis Apostolicæ penitus neglecta maneant, sine honore, sine ornamentis, sine instauratione, et omni ex parte ruinas minentur." This was the complaint of a deputation from the senate and Roman people to the cardinals in 1378. Dissertazione sulle rovine, &c. p. 369.

[1] "Cecidit ædificiorum veterum neglecta civibus, stupenda peregrinis moles," says Petrarch, lib. x. epist. 2. He confines, however, his individual mention—to the Tor de' Conti—to the fall of a good part of the church of St. Paul, and of the roof of the Lateran.

"Turris illa toto orbe unica, quæ Comitum dicebatur, ingentibus ruinis laxata dissiluit, et nunc velut trunca caput superbi verticis honorem solo effusum despicit," lib. x. epist. ii. oper.

It may be suspected Petrarch did not distinguish exactly between the old Roman remains and the buildings of the papal town. The Tor de' Conti was built in 1203.

[2] "In urbe vero cecidit quædam columna de marmore quæ sustinebat ecclesiam Sancti Pauli cum tertia parte vel circa cooperti ipsius ecclesiæ, et multæ aliæ ecclesiæ ibi et ædificia mirabiliter ceciderunt."

See—Chronicon Mutinense auctore Johanne de Bazano. Script. Rer. Italic. tom. xv. pag. 615.

water, which converted the lower grounds to a lake for eight days[1].

The absence of the popes might have been fatal to the modern city, and have reduced it to a solitude[2]; but such a solitude would have protected many a fragment, which their return and the subsequent rapid repopulation have for ever annihilated. Their return[3] was the signal of renewed violence. The Colonna and Orsini, the people and the church, fought for the Capitol and towers, and the fortress of the popes, the refitted mole of Hadrian, repeatedly bombarded the town[4].

During the great schism of the West, the hostile entries of Ladislaus of Naples[5], and the

[1] Historiæ Romanæ fragmenta, cap. xv. de lo grannissimo diluvio e piena de acqua de lo Fiume Tevere. See—Antiq. Med. Ævi. tom. iii. p. 392.

[2] "Perche Roma senza la presenza de' Pontefici è piùttosto simile a una solitudine che a una città," says Guicciardini, on the occasion of Adrian VIth's entry into Rome. See—Dell' Istoria d' Italia, lib. xv. p. 1015. fol.

[3] In 1378, in the reign of Urban VI. the great schism began.

[4] In 1404, after the death of Boniface IX.—also in 1405—and again in the civil war between Innocent VII. and the Romans. "E in quello subito lo castello di Sant' Angelo si ruppe co i Romani e commìnciò a bombardare per Roma." See—Stephan. Infessura. Scriba del senato e popolo Romano. Diario della citta di Roma, ap. Script. Rer. Ital. tom. iii. p. ii. pag. 1115.

[5] Ladislaus came peaceably into Rome, on the 15th of Sep-

tumultuary government of the famous Perugian Braccio Montone[1], are known to have despoiled the tomb of Hadrian[2]. Perhaps they were fatal to other monuments.

tember, 1404; on the 20th of August, 1405, three thousand of his horse entered Rome, and a battle was fought in the streets near the castle. In April, 1408, Ladislaus besieged the city by sea and land, and was put in possession of all the strong places. The Colonnas and other banished nobles attacked the town in June. The Duke of Anjou and Paul Orsini, with 23,000 troops, endeavoured, in 1408, to expel Ladislaus, but retired. Orsini, however, returned in December, and Ladislaus was driven out. In 1413 Ladislaus returned, broke down the walls at the gate of the Lateran, and got possession of the city and castle. He died in 1414: his title was, "hujus almæ Urbis Illuminator illustris." Pieri, in his diary, relating his death, says, "Cujus anima benedicatur per contrarium." See —Vendettini serie cronologica de' Senatori di Roma, p. 75. edit. Roma, 1778.

[1] The exploits of Braccio di Montone are contained in six books, a biography written by John Antony Campano, bishop of Terni. He flourished from 1368 to 1424. See—Script. Rer. Italic. tom. xix. In 1417, he entered Rome with his troops, and attacked the castle of St. Angelo, which was in possession of the queen of Naples, Joanna, and was obliged to retreat. (Ibid. pag. 545.) He was captain of the people for seventy days, and when forced to retire, out of spite to the Romans, broke the banks of the lake *Pedelupo, pie' di Lup*, in the Reatine territory, which caused a tremendous inundation of the Tyber, in 1422. According to Step. Infessura, Diar. &c. p. 1122. loc. citat. Braccio was killed in battle on the 2d of June, 1424.

[2] See—a note on the Castle of St. Angelo.

Yet that violence was probably less pernicious than the peaceful spoliation which succeeded the extinction of the schism in the person of Martin V. in 1417, and the suppression, in 1434, of the last revolt of the Romans by his successor Eugenius IV. From this epoch must be dated the consumption of such marble or travertine as might either be stripped with facility from the stable monuments, or be found in isolated fragments. A broken statue, a prostrate, or even a standing column, in the habitable part of the town, and the larger structures yet remaining in the vineyards were considered by the owners of the land, within and without the walls, as their own property, and to be applied to their own use. The repairs commenced by Martin V., and carried on more vigorously by Eugenius[1], required a supply of materials, and of cement, which was obtained from the ruins.

The triumph of superstition conspired with the ignorance and individual necessities of the Romans, to render them more indifferent to the relics of pagan antiquity. Whatever nationality and patriotism they had evinced in the

[1] "Sed collapsa deformataque edificia multis in locis maximo instauras reficisque impendio." Præfatio ad Eugenium IV. Pont. Max. Flavii Blondi. Roma instaurata, edit. Taur. 1527.

times of turbulence, were degraded into a blind veneration for the shrines of the apostles and for the person of their successor. A secretary of the Popes, an antiquary, and one who may be surely cited as a favourable specimen of the better class of citizens, modestly confesses that there was some difference between the Rome of Eugenius IV. and that of Pompey and the first Cæsars. "*At the same time,*" says he, "*our Pontifex is indeed a perpetual dictator, not the successor of Cæsar, but the successor of the fisherman Peter, and the vicar of the Emperor Jesus Christ.*[1] *Besides,*" he adds, "*there are still at Rome most high and admirable objects which can be seen no where else. For this very city has the threshold of the apostles and the earth purple with the blood of the martyrs. It has the handkerchief of St. Veronica; it has the place called* 'Domine quo vadis,' *where Christ met St. Peter and left the marks of his feet in the stone. It has the heads of Peter and Paul, the milk of the Virgin, the cradle and foreskin of our Saviour*[2]*, the chains of St. Peter, the spousal*

[1] Flavii Blondi. Roma Instaurata. "Dictatorem nunc perpetuum, non Cæsaris sed Piscatoris Petri successorem et Imperatoris prædicti Vicarium Pontificem, &c." Lib. iii. fo. 41. edit. Taurin. 1527.

[2] This relic was shamefully neglected whilst the popes were at Avignon. At last the Virgin appeared to Saint Brigith,

ring sent from heaven to the maiden Agnes. To see, to touch, to venerate all which and many more things, more than fifty thousand strangers from all parts of the world come to Rome in the time of Lent."

These relics certainly may have preserved the existence of Rome, but were no protection to her ancient structures. The same writer notices the daily destruction of monuments, which he avers to be so visible as to make him loathe the abode at Rome[1]. The fatal lime

exclaiming, " O Roma, Roma, si scires, gauderes utique, immo si scires fleres incessanter, quia habes thesaurum mihi carissimum, et non honoras illum." " E forse," says Marangoni, writing in the middle *of the eighteenth century!* " che la madre di Dio stessa indirizzò questo lamento agli ultimi secoli, e specialmente allo scorso XVI. nel quale, essendo quasi che spenta la venerazione, e memoria di questa Divina Reliquia in Roma, questa Città ricevette il castigo di esserne privata." The relic was stolen by one of the heretics and *loose livers* of Bourbon's army, *forse il piu ardito e facinoroso degli altri*, but was found in an underground cell at Calcata, 20 miles from Rome, by a noble lady, Maddelena Strozzi, after Pope Clement VII. had in vain given every order to recover it. The discovery was attended with repeated miracles, of all which an authentic account may be seen in the *Istoria della Capella di sancta sanctorum di Roma*, cap. xxxix. edit. 1747, by the famous Marangoni, the author of the Memoir on the Coliseum.

[1] " Cujus rei tanta singulos dies videmus exempla ut ea solum modo causa nos aliquantum Romæ fastidiat habitatio.

burning awakened the indignation of a poet[1] to whom it appeared a new offence, and the testimony of Blondus and Æneas Sylvius shows that there was some ground for the exaggeration of the angry Florentine, who having witnessed the destruction of some monuments, wonders that any remnant of antiquity should have escaped the fury and cupidity of the Romans[2].

Of republican Rome Poggio reckoned the double row of vaults in the Capitol, constructed by Catulus, then converted into a public magazine for salt; the Sepulchre of Publicius; the Fabrician bridge over the Tyber; an arch, over the road beneath the Aventine mount, made and approved by P. Lentulus Scipio and Titus Quin-

Multis enim in locis vineas videmus ubi superbissima ædificia vidimus quorum quadrati lapides tiburtini in calcem sunt cocti. Lib. iii. fol. 33.

[1] Oblectat me, Roma, tuas spectare ruinas,
Ex cujus lapsu gloria prisca patet.
Sed tuus hic populus muris defossa vetustis
Calcis in obsequium marmora dura coquit
Impia tercentum si sic gens egerit annos,
Nullum hinc indicium nobilitatis erit.

Mabillon. Mus. Italic. p. 95. tom. i. written by Picolomini to Bartholomeus Roverella.

[2] "Quas sæpe miror insaniam demolientium effugisse." He is talking of two arches in the Flaminian way. De Fortunæ varietate, &c. ap. Sallengre, tom. i. p. 500.

tius Crispinus; the monuments called the Trophies of Marius, (they belong to the time of Trajan); and the Cestian Pyramid (which is hardly of the time of the republic).

Of Imperial Rome nothing was entire but the Pantheon. The fragments were, three arches, and one column of the Temple of Peace; the Temple of Romulus, dedicated to Cosmas and Damianus; a few vestiges of the double Temple of Castor and Pollux, at Sta. Maria Nuova; the marble columns of the Portico of Antoninus and Faustina; the peripteral Temple of Vesta on the Tyber; a portion of the Temple of Minerva; a part of the portico of the Temple of Concord; the Temple of Saturn, or church of St. Hadrian; a portico of the Temple of Mercury at the Pescaria; a Temple of Apollo converted into a part of St. Peter's; a very ancient temple of a single vault at the roots of the Tarpeian, called the church of St. Michael, *in Statera*, falsely supposed of Jupiter Stator; the Baths of Diocletian and Severus Antoninus still so called, most perfect, with many columns and marbles; the smaller remains of the Constantine Baths in the Quirinal; the Baths of Alexander Severus near the Pantheon, (pulchra et præclara vestigia;) the Domitian Thermæ, (per-pauca rudera) which were the Baths of Titus; the Arches of Severus, of Titus, of Constantine,

almost entire; a part of one of Nerva; a part of one of Trajan, near what he calls the Comitium; two in the Flaminian way, one called Triopolis (the Arcus Portogalli or Tres Faci-cellæ), the other without a name; another Arch of Gallienus in the Via Numentana[1]; one alone of all the *nine* aqueducts (fourteen he should have said) entire; this was the Acqua Virgo, (and had been repaired); the Coliseum, the greater part of it destroyed for lime; a portion of a theatre called of Julius Cæsar between the Tarpeian and the Tyber, together with many marble columns opposite to it; part of a portico of a round temple, built upon, with gardens within, called, *of Jupiter* (this seems the Theatre of Marcellus); an amphitheatre of square brick near Sante Croce *in Gerusalemme*, mixed with the city wall[2]; a large open place where the people met *ad venationem et spectaculum* called *agonis*[3], the Mole *Divæ Adriani et Divæ*

[1] Mr. Gibbon, cap. lxxi. p. 398. vol. 12, has made a careless blunder for the sake of a period by putting this in the Flaminian way; the words are positive, "Duo insuper via Flaminia——est *alter* præterea Gallieno Principi dicatus ut suprascriptio indicat *Via Numentana*."

[2] Mr. Gibbon, equally careless as before, says, "After the wonder of the Coliseum, Poggio might have overlooked a small amphitheatre of brick most probably for the use of the Prætorian camp;" but he did not overlook it, here it is.

[3] Which Mr. Gibbon unaccountably also reckons amongst

Faustinæ, in great part destroyed by the Romans; the Sepulchre of Augustus, a mound with a vineyard in the inside; the Column of Trajan with the inscription; the Column of Antoninus Pius (Aurelius) without the inscription; the Sepulchre of Cecilia Metella, the greater part destroyed for lime; the Sepulchre of Marcus Antius Lupus, two miles in the Ostian way, composed of three large stones with an inscription[1].

In the interval between the two visits of Pog-

the objects not seen by Poggio, together with the Theatres of Marcellus and Pompey, and the Circus Maximus, whose remains it is true he does not mention, and therefore prevents us from saving his credit by thinking the phrase *he might have overlooked* capable of a double construction; our historian evidently meant *he had* overlooked them.

[1] No more is found in the treatise as published in Sallengre, tom. i. p. 501 to 508. Mr. Gibbon consulted the quarto edition published in Paris 1723; but the strangest contradiction has crept into his text. In cap. lxxi. he opens thus: "*In the last days of Pope Eugenius IV. two of his servants, the learned Poggius and a friend, ascended the Capitoline hill:*" the note to this runs thus: "*I have already* (note 50, 51 in chap. lxv.) *mentioned the age, character, and writings of Poggius, and particularly noticed the date of this elegant moral lecture on the varieties of Fortune.*" Turn to the cited note, 51, cap. lxv. p. 33. tom. xii. oct. "*The dialogue de varietate Fortunæ was composed a short time before the death of Pope Martin V. and consequently about the end of the year* 1430." How are the two to be reconciled? In fact Poggio himself

gio to Rome, the cell and a part of the Temple of Concord, and of the base of the Tomb of Metella, had been ground to lime. A portico near the Minerva was also demolished for the same purpose. The Romans had discovered that mortar made with white, and more particularly oriental marble, was more serviceable than that of common stone[1]. The other scattered relics, particularly the columns strewed about the quarter between the Tarpeian rock and the Tyber, must have quickly disappeared in the subsequent reform and decorations of the new capital. Poggio's description of the ruins is, it may have been observed, not sufficiently minute or correct to supply the deficiency of his cotemporary Blondus; but we may distinctly mark that the site of ancient Rome had arrived at the desolation in which it is seen at this day. The labours of succeeding topographers have enabled us to account for the loss of the monuments which he enumerates, and which are no

says, "Nuper cum Pontifex Martinus paulo antequam diem suum obiret, ab urbe in agrum Tusculanum secessit valetudinis causa," &c. &c.

[1] Some years back some kilns were discovered near Ostia full of broken marbles. Dissertazione sulle rovine, p. 374. note A. "Essendosi provato colla esperienza che la calce fatta col marmo bianco e coll' orientale in ispecie era maravigliosa." Ibid.

longer to be seen. The fabrication of churches and other buildings was continued with so pernicious an activity during the reign of Nicolas V. (elected in 1447) the modern Augustus, that Pius II. enforced the complaints which he had uttered as a poet by issuing a bull in 1462 *de Antiquis ædificiis non diruendis*[1]. This prudence was but a feeble check against the renewed demand for materials which ensued upon the total reform of the city by Sixtus IV. in 1480. The Rome of the Republic had soon been lost, the capital of the early Cæsars had been afterwards abandoned. But isolated structures of the latter city were found not only in the ancient site but in the Campus Martius. The Rome of the lower and middle ages was a mass of irregular lanes, built upon or amongst ruins and surmounted by brick towers, many of them propped on ancient basements. The streets were as narrow as those of Pompeii or old Rome[2]; two horsemen could with difficulty ride abreast. Two hundred houses, three towers, and three churches choked up the Forum of Trajan[3].

[1] Dissertazione, p. 373.

[2] Vicinus meus est manuque tangi
De nostris Novius potest fenestris.
Mart. lib. i. epig. 77.
Does this mean contiguous or opposite?

[3] They were removed by Paul III. on the occasion of Charles V.'s entry into Rome in 1536, April 5.

The reformation of Sixtus IV. and the embellishments of his successors, have completely obliterated this town[1], and that which we now see is a capital which can only date from the end of the fifteenth century.

This reformation has been justly fixed upon as the epoch of the final destruction of what-

[1] The origin of this reform is attributed by Infessura in his diary (tom. iii. par. ii. p. 1145. Script. Rer. Italic.) to Ferdinand of Naples. "E parlando con Papa Sisto disse, che esso non era Signore di questa terra, per amore de i Porticali, per le vie strette, e per li mignani, e che bisognando di mettere in Roma gente d'arme le donne coi mortari da i detti mignani li fariano fuggire." The motive was as irresistible as the improvement was desirable, and Sixtus IV. followed the advice of Ferdinand. The Abate Fea (dissert. 372) to prove that the plan originated with Sixtus himself, says that the Pope makes no mention in his bull of having received the hint from any one. Nor does the Abate tell us that he borrowed his Greek knowledge from Latin translations, nor does that omission make us attach less value to his excellent dissertation on the ruins of Rome. The writer of this note will be more ingenuous than either Sixtus or the Abate; he will confess that the dissertation has been constantly open before him during the progress of his researches, and that after disencumbering it of its learning, and arriving in many cases at conclusions entirely different, he has resorted to it freely, though never without acknowledgment, for such materials as could not be consulted without a reference to the Roman libraries. A character of the Abate, which it is clear has been very indiscreetly inserted in the posthumous edition of the Remarks on Italy, Mr. Forsyth never could have intended for publication.

ever portion of the old city might have been confounded with the Rome of the middle ages. The enlargement and the straightening of the streets removed every obstacle, and must have consumed the bases of many ancient structures which had been buried under modern fabrics, and had escaped the notice of Blondus and Poggio. The practice before remarked continued during the succeeding pontificate of Julius II.: statues and marbles were still burnt for lime, and the antiquarian taste which arose with the revival of letters despoiled rather than protected the fabrics of Rome. Paradoxical as such an assertion may appear, it is indubitable that in the golden reign of Leo X. the barbarism of defacement and destruction was at its height. It was during the pontificate of another of the Medici, Clement VII. that one of the same family, Lorenzino, carried off the heads of the captives on the Arch of Constantine. The spoliation was only impeded by the plague of 1522, and by the distresses of the reign of the same Clement.

The sack of Rome by the troops of Charles V. has been loudly proclaimed[1] more detri-

[1] Da Barga says, "Atque utinam qui nostra ætate eandem urbem hostes ab se expugnatam depopulati sunt, hujusmodi exemplum sibi ante oculos possuissent." De ædificior. urb. Rom. eversor. p. 1816. loc. citat.

mental than that of the Goths. The complaint, however, comes from those who thought no hyperbole too extravagant to heighten the picture of that calamity. The churches and palaces were pillaged[1], and the chambers of the Vatican, the frescoes of Raphael, still bear witness to the barbarity of the Spanish, German, and Italian invaders. "Statues, columns, precious stones, and many monuments of antiquity," are noted amongst the spoil[2]; but no memory is preserved of the attack of the standing fabrics, except of the Mole of Hadrian, already a modern fortress. The nine months ravage of

[1] "Però sarebbe impossibile non solo narrare, ma quasi imaginarsi le calamità di quella città, destinata per ordine de' cieli a somma grandezza, ma eziandio a spesse distruttioni; perchè era l'anno novo cento e ottanta, ch'era stata saccheggiata da' Gotti; impossibile a narrare la grandezza della preda essendovi accumulate tante richezze, e tante cose pretiose e rare di cortigiani e di mercatanti." Guicciard. dell' Istoria d' Italia, lib. xviii. p. 1266. edit. Ven. 1738.

"Non avendo rispetto non solo al nome de gli amici, e all' autorità, e dignità de' prelati, ma eziandio a' templi a' monasterii, alle reliquie, mirate dal concorso di tutto il mondo e delle cose sacre." Ib. p. 1265.

[2] "Restò Roma spogliata dell' esercito non solo d'una parte grande de gli abitatori con tante case desolate, e distrutte, ma eziandio spogliata di statue, di colonne, di pietre singulari, e di molti ornamenti d' antichità." Ibid. pp. 1302, 1303.

the Imperialists[1] was preceded by the three hours sack of the Colonnas[2], in 1526, and was followed by that of the Abate di Farfa and the peasantry of the Orsini family. In 1530, a tremendous inundation of the Tyber is said to have ruined edifices both public and private, and to have been equally calamitous with the sack of Rome[3]. Yet these disasters seem chiefly to have affected the houses and a few churches, and were soon repaired in the splendid pontificate of the succeeding Popes. So rapidly did they proceed with the embellishment of the new capital, that the city of Paul III. was hardly to be recognised in the time of Urban VIII[4]. The former destruction was renewed. The bull of Paul III. issued in 1534, which made it a capi-

[1] Rome was assaulted by Bourbon, the 5th of May, 1527, and the Imperialists left it the 17th of February, 1528. Guicciard. p. 1302.

[2] "Saccheggiavano il palazzo, e le cose e ornamenti sacri della chiesa di San Pietro: non avendo maggiore rispetto alla maestà di religione e all' orrore del sacrilegio, che avessino avuto i Turchi nelle chiese del regno d'Ungheria." Lib. xvii. p. 1218.

[3] Annali d' Italia ad an. 1530, tom. x. p. 242. There was another terrible inundation in 1557, and another still more dreadful in 1598.

[4] It is Donatus who says, that if Charles V. were to come back to Rome in Urban VIII.'s time, he would not recognise

tal and unpardonable offence to grind down[1] statues or pieces of marble, and appointed an antiquarian commissary to enforce the law, extended nominally to the architectural remains; yet we know that portions of the ruins were employed in modern buildings by that Pope himself, and were afterwards consumed for the same purpose. The Farnese, the Mattei, the Borghese, and the Barberini, searched for and collected the statues[2] and inscribed marbles, to adorn their museums; but their palaces either levelled or consumed many fragments which could not be preserved as the walls of modern buildings. The stupendous vaults of the Diocletian thermæ were converted into churches[3], the walls

the city which he had seen from the top of the Pantheon. Roma Vetus, lib. i. cap. xxix.

[1] Dissertazione sulle rovine, p. 375. The edict is there given, addressed to the commissary Lucio Manetti.

[2] There were a great many portable *antiquities* dispersed in the time of Fabricius (1550): bas reliefs and other pieces of sculpture, scattered about in various parts of the city, and exposed to injury. Yet there were five antiquarian museums then in Rome. Descriptio Romæ, cap. xx. and xxi. ap. Græv. Antiq. tom. iii.

[3] *S. Maria degli Angioli*, by Pius IV. who employed M. Angelo; and *S. Bernardo alle terme*, changed into a church by a private individual, Catherine Sforza, Countess of S. Fiora, in 1598.

of those of Constantine were adjusted into the Rospigliosi palace[1]. The Alexandrine thermæ supplied with columns the repairs of the Pantheon[2]. A circus was gradually cleared away for the opening of the piazza Navona. The summer-house of the Farnese rose from the ruins of the Palatine. The marble threshold and broken columns from which Poggio[3] had contemplated the vicissitudes of fortune, were removed, and probably employed in the construction of the new capitol of Michael Angelo. The marble of a temple on the Quirinal was cut into the 124 steps which ascend to the church of Aracæli[4]. We have before noticed the destruction of ancient monuments by the Popes, and it is equally evident that the Pontiffs were, on the restoration of Rome, powerfully seconded by the luxury and taste of the prelates and princes. Flaminius Vacca[5] leads us to believe, that in his time, the latter half of the sixteenth century, it was usual for the sculp-

[1] Great remains of the Baths of Constantine were seen in the age before Donatus. Lib. iii. cap. xv.

[2] By Alexander VII.

[3] "Consedimus in ipsis Tarpejæ arcis ruinis, pone ingens portæ cujusdam marmoreum limen, plurimasque passim confractas columnas."..... de Fortunæ Variet. Ap. 501. loc. citat.

[4] By gift of Otto the Milanese, Senator of Rome. This was at an earlier period, about 1348.

[5] Memorie, num. 64, p. xi. in fin. Nardini.

tors to cut their statues from columns; and he narrates, that Cardinal Cesi fitted up a chapel in Santa Maria della Pace, with *statues and prophets* worked from the pilasters found behind the conservators' palace on the Tarpeian rock, and believed to be a part of the Temple of Jupiter Stator. The great palace of the Cancellaria of Riario[1] had before robbed a part of the Coliseum, and levelled some remains of baths, or of an arch of the Emperor Gordian. The infinite quantity of precious marbles which adorns the churches of Rome, must have been chiefly extracted from the ancient relics; and, with the exception of those belonging to edifices *converted* to sacred purposes, or to pontifical buildings, the greater part of the superb columns of these churches must have been removed from their ancient site. We are obliged to the designs of Raffael and Palladio for the appearance of some fabrics now destroyed; and those who peruse the topographers from Blondus to Nardini will assign to the latter half of the fifteenth century, and the succeeding 150 years, a greater activity of destruction than to those immediately preceding ages, in which we

[1] It was begun by Cardinal Mezzarota, and finished by Cardinal Raphael Riario. The architect was Bramante Lazzari. Roma moderna, da Venuti, &c. tom. i. p. 203. Rione vi.

have no authentic writers to tell us what was left, or what was lost.

Besides the devastation before noticed, it may be remarked, that Donatus gives an account of remains of *Thermæ Olympiadis*, *Thermæ Novatianæ*, on the Viminal hill[1]; that the same topographer saw something of the Thermæ of Agrippa, and also of those of Nero or Alexander; that the fragment of a temple, supposed of the Sun, built by Aurelian, now in the Colonna gardens, was then raised upon a portion of the wall of that building; that Marlianus had seen the arch dedicated to Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius; that the circus called Flaminius had very determinable vestiges when seen by Lætus, Fulvius, and Marlianus, but is talked of by Nardini as no longer in existence; that the same writers had observed many more relics of the Theatre of Pompey than could be traced in the next age, although they were so small, even before their time, as to be overlooked by Poggio; that a huge fragment behind the Pantheon, called by some *Templum Boni Eventus*, has disappeared since Nardini wrote; that the remains of the Minervium, distinctly seen by Fulvius and Marlianus, and not alto-

[1] Lib. iii. cap. xi.

gether lost in the middle of the last century[1], are also consumed; that the vaulted cell of a structure in the Vatican, called a temple of Apollo, or of Mars, and seen in the pictures of the Vatican library, has been incorporated or lost in the baptistry of St. Peter's.

The embellishment of the rising city vigorously pursued till the middle of the seventeenth century, was the first object of the Pontiffs: the preservation of the architectural remains appears to have been a rare and secondary design. When that embellishment had ceased to be the passion of the Popes, the dilapidation may be supposed to have been discontinued. The last *recorded* destruction was that before mentioned of the arch in the Corso, by Alexander VII. No other ancient fabric can perhaps be proved to have been purposely thrown down or defaced since that period. A fragment of the Coliseum, which was shaken to the ground in the earthquake of 1703, was laudably employed in constructing the stairs of the Ripetta.

The frequent repairs of the Pantheon, those of the Antonine and Trajan columns, the erection of the obelisks, the restoration of the Cestian pyramid, and the late protection of the Flavian

[1] See—Venuti Roma Moderna, tom. i. p. 272, Rione ix.

amphitheatre, with that of the arch of Constantine[1], seem to compose the sum of all the merits of all the Popes, as far as respects the stable fabrics of antiquity. The Romans of the present day are not the last to allow, that until the late usurpation, either the will, or the means, or the method, had been wanting effectually to oppose the ravages of violence and time. The taste and magnificence of the Popes must be sought, and will be found, in the museums of the Vatican and the Capitol. It was reserved for the conquerors who plundered those noble repositories to recompense Rome for her losses, by clearing away the offals and dirt, which had accumulated for ages round buried temples, and under the windows of the Senate House, by cleansing the base, and propping the porches of the Coliseum, by removing the soil in front of the Temple of Peace, by re-opening the Baths of Titus, and, finally, by excavating the Forum of Trajan, a work of itself superior to all the

[1] In 1733, by Clement XII. to whom, in the interior of the wall, sunk round the arch, is the following inscription. Clementi XII. Pont. Max. quod arcum Imp. Constantino Magno erectum, ob relatam salutari crucis signo victoriam, jam temporum injuriis fatiscentem veteribus redditis ornamentis restituerit. Anno D. 1733. Pont. iii. S. P. Q. R. Optimo Principi ac pristinæ majestatis urbis adsertori. Pos.—The senate and people took care to record their credulity as well as their gratitude.

meritorious exertions of Sixtus Quintus and Braschi. The impulse given by the late ephemeral government still continues the labours in the Forum, and the repairs of the Coliseum; and the attention of the Pontiffs being at last directed to the preservation of relics, which have succeeded to the attraction once possessed by their spiritual treasures, it may be hoped that the ruins of Rome have no more to dread from outrage or neglect. The inundations of the Tyber have of late years been either less violent, or are more easily reduced, than in the days of ignorance and distress[1]. With the exception of the cell of the temple, now called Minerva Medica, which was thrown down in 1812, no earthquake has, since the beginning of the last century, materially injured the ancient fabrics. What remains of them so nearly resembles the earliest authentic account of the ruins, that we may indulge a persuasion that they will still resist for ages the unassisted assaults of time.

[1] All the latter inundations of the Tyber are noted on the columns, which serve as hygrometers at the Ripetta.

Stanza LXXIX.

The Scipios' tomb contains no ashes now.

This may be; but the handsome though plain sarcophagus of Barbatus may, by those of a certain taste, be thought more attractive than any of the masterpieces of the Vatican. The eloquent simple inscription becomes the virtues and the fellow countrymen of the defunct, and instructs us more than a chapter of Livy in the style and language of the republican Romans [1].

The vault itself has been emptied of the slabs and inscriptions, and the copies fixed in the spot where they were found, may be thought ill to supply the place of the originals. The local impression would have been stronger; but the preservation of the precious relics would have been less sure in the vault than in the museum. The discovery of the tomb of the Scipios was not an unmingled triumph for the

[1] CORNELIUS . LUCIUS . SCIPIO . BARBATUS . GNAIVOD . PATRE——PROGNATUS . FORTIS . VIR . SAPIENSQUE . QVOIVS . FORMA . VIRTUTEI . PARISUMA . FUIT——CONSOL . CENSOR . AIDILIS . QUEI : FUIT . APVD . VOS . TAURASIA . CISAUNA——SAMNIO . CEPIT . SVBIGIT . OMNE . LOVCANA . OBSIDESQUE . ABDOVCIT. This inscription is in four lines.

Nine other inscriptions were discovered in this family tomb: they are copied into the new edition of Venuti, published in Rome, 1803, parte ii. cap. i. p. 5. et seq.

Roman antiquaries. It would not be easy to exemplify more strongly than by this instance, the error and uncertainty of their researches. A fragment of peperine, evidently detached from this vault, with an inscription to Lucius, son of Barbatus Scipio, had been discovered in the year MDCXV, near the Porta Capena, and was neglected as bad grammar and an evident forgery[1]. The objectors quoted Cicero to prove that the tomb of the Scipios must be *without* the Porta Capena, and forgot that the Aurelian walls had brought forward that gate beyond the Ciceronian sepulchre. The authenticity of the inscription was not without protectors, but the

[1] HONC OINO PLOIRVME COSENTIONT. R.
DVONORO . OPTVMO FVISSE VIRO
LVCIOM . SCIPIONE . FILIOS BARBATI
CONSOL CENSOR . AIDILIS . HIC FVET . A
HEC CEPIT. CORSICA . ALERIAQVE . VRBE
DEDET TEMPESTATEBVS AIDE MERETO.

Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romæ
Bonorum optimum fuisse virum
Lucium Scipionem Filius Barbati
Consol, Censor, Ædilis hic fuit
Hic cepit Corsicam, Aleriamque urbem
Dedit Tempestatibus ædem merito.

See—Antiquæ inscriptionis explanatio. ap. Græv. Antiq. Rom. tom. iv. p. 1835, Romæ, 1616. Winkelmann quotes it as authentic. Storia, &c. lib. viii. cap. viii. tom. ii. p. 153. edit. citat.

error balanced the fact, and the epitaph was occasionally quoted as apocryphal[1], until the accident which uncovered the actual tomb in 1780. Those who had not supported the mistake, could not but be gratified by a discovery so precious both to the philologist and the antiquary, and the happy accident was consigned to immortality in the very eloquent, but rather dull, dialogues of the dead, whom the Conte Verri evoked in those sacred vaults.

The pyramid which once stood in the line from the castle of St. Angelo to the Vatican was called the tomb of Scipio Africanus, on the authority of Acron, a scholiast on Horace[2], and the Pine in the Belvedere was thought to belong to that monument[3].

Stanza LXXIX.

The very sepulchres lie tenantless.

The period at which the sepulchres were emptied of their ashes must have been, first,

[1] The padre Eschinard and his editor Venuti placed the tomb without the modern Porta Capena, opposite to the chapel called "Domine quo Vadis," and gave a long description of it. See Descrizione di Roma e dell' agro Romano, corretto dall' abate Venuti in Roma, 1750. Echinard and his editor are full of gratuitous applications.

[2] Nardini Roma Vetus, lib. viii. cap. xiii.

[3] G. Fabricii descriptio Romæ, cap. xx.

that in which the Christians prowled about in every quarter for relics, and thought a church could not be consecrated without such a recommendation [1]. Eight and twenty cart-loads of relics could not be procured for the Pantheon without some diligence and damage to the repositories of the pretended saints [2]; and we know that the eagerness of the search extended to sepulchres where the symbols of martyrdom were very equivocal, or not to be discovered at all [3]. Astolphus the Lombard, when he be-

[1] See the letter of St. Ambrose on the discovery of St. Genaise and St. Protaise, in which he says, he sent his audience who begged a church of him ("respondi, faciam si martyrum reliquias invenero,") to look for relics. St. Paul appeared to Ambrose, and told him to build a church in honour of these martyrs. Epist. segregatæ, ep. ii. p. 484. edit. 1690.

[2] See a note on the Pantheon.

[3] "Era dunque incredibile in que' secoli di ferro l' avidità delle sacre reliquie." See Dissertazione, 58, sopra le antichità Italiane, tom. iii. p. 245, edit. Milan, 1751. Theodoric, bishop of Metz, a relation of Otho the Great, when he came to Rome, took a liking to the chain of St. Peter. He happened to be present with the court and Emperor when Pope John XII. held out the chain to a sick courtier to bite and be cured. "Di buone griffe avea questo prelato," observes Muratori; the bishop snatched at the chain, and declared they might cut his hand off, but he would not give it up. A struggle ensued, and the Emperor compounded with the Pope for a link. Page 246.

sieged Rome in 755, dug into the cemeteries of many saints, and "carried away their bodies, to the great detriment of his own soul," although from the most pious of motives; and these saints were doubtless supposed to be found in any of the thousand tombs in the neighbourhood of Rome[1]. Either this motive, or the expectation of finding the ornaments frequently buried with the dead, had encouraged a crime which it was found necessary to check by laws in early times, some of which are extant in the codes. The practice was continued to the reign, and it is doubtful whether it was not connived at by an edict, of Theodoric[2], who wished to discourage the practice of impoverishing the living for the decoration of the dead.

At the fall of the empire of Charlemagne, and the rise of the feudal lords of Italy, the size of some of the tombs must have made the occupation of them a military object, as in the case of the two great mausoleums, and of Cecilia Metella; and in the subsequent periods of repair, the marbles with which they were decorated would expose them to easy spoliation. The urns and sarcophagi, when of precious materials, were,

[1] "Multa corpora sanctorum, effodiens eorum cemeteria ad magnum animæ suæ detrimentum abstulit." Anastas. in vit. Stephan. ii. aut. iii.

[2] Cassiod. variar. lib. iv. epist. 34.

without scruple, transported from their site and emptied for the reception of purer ashes. Two of the Popes, Innocent II.[1] and Clement XII.[2], repose in the marbles, which, if they did not before receive the bones of Hadrian and Agrippa, were certainly constructed for heathen tenants; and the examples are innumerable of meaner Christians, whose remains are enveloped in the symbols of paganism. It should be recollected that the mythological sculpture on sarcophagi was continued long after the introduction of Christianity, and that when the relations of a defunct went to a repository to select a tomb, they were not scrupulous about the emblems, or were ignorant what they represented. A bishop, whose stone coffin is seen in the Basilica of *St. Lorenzo, without the walls*, is inclosed in bas reliefs representing a marriage; this probably belonged to some Pagan body before it held the bishop; but the Christians were sometimes the first tenants of these heathen-sculptured tombs.

[1] Pietri. Manlii. opusculum historiæ sacræ ad beatiss. pat. Alexand. III. pont. Max. ap. Acta Sanctorum, tom. vii. part ii. p. 37. edit. Antw. 1717. This doubtful author (see a note on the Castle of Saint Angelo) mentions that the porphyry sarcophagus, in which Hadrian was buried, was transferred to the Lateran for the service of Innocent II.

[2] Clement XII. is buried in the Lateran in a beautiful porphyry sarcophagus, which was taken from one of the niches under the porch of the Pantheon.

Humbler tombs were applied to other services: many are now cisterns. The church of St. Paul, *without the walls*, was paved with gravestones taken from the Ostian Way. A name was no protection in the days of ignorance; and the deposits of the mausoleum of the Cæsars, when they could not be converted to profit, were applied to vulgar uses. Some respect might have been paid to a stone thus inscribed:

The Bones
Of Agrippina, the daughter of M. Agrippa,
The grand-daughter of the divine Augustus,
The Wife
Of Germanicus Cæsar,
The mother of C. Cæsar Augustus
Germanicus, our prince[1].

But with these letters in large characters, staring them in the face, the Romans used this stone as a measure for 300 weight of corn, and the arms of their modern senate are sculptured upon one of its sides, in a style worthy of the "rude age," to which a modest inscription

[1] Ossa.
Agrippinæ. M. Agrippæ.
Divi. Aug. Neptis. Uxoris.
Germanici. Cæsaris.
Matris. C. Cæsaris. Aug.
Germanici. Principis.

ascribes the misapplication. The sarcophagus, a huge cubic stone, is standing in the court of the conservators' palace in the capitol, and is at this time perhaps scarcely preserved with so much care as might be claimed by a memorial of the only virtuous female of the Julian race. The pilgrim of the XIIIth century tells us that he saw these words over one of the cells of the mausoleum of Augustus. "*These are the bones and ashes of Nerva, the Emperor*[1]."

The bones and ashes of emperors have been dispersed in the ruins of this great sepulchre, which, from being choked up as a fortress, was hollowed out for a vineyard, and, having at last become a circus, serves for the bull-feasts of the summer festivals. Some less illustrious ashes have been preserved, or supplied in the columbaria of the two families, whose vaults are shown in the garden in which stands the ruin called Minerva Medica[2]. But when the tombs were above ground, the cells were soon rifled and stripped of their ornaments. In later ages the pyramid of Cestius was broken and ransacked

[1] "Hæc sunt ossa et cinis Nervæ Imperatoris." Liber de mirabilibus Romæ. ap. Montfaucon. Diarium Italicum, p. 292.

[2] The freedmen of Lucius Arruntius, consul in the reign of Tiberius, and those of some nameless or unknown family.

for gold[1]. The tombs of the "happy dead" are become the huts of the wretched living, and the Appian Way may now humble the pride, but will hardly contribute to the consolations of philosophy[2].

The museums have stripped these populous cemeteries of their memorials. The six thousand freedmen[3] of the Augustan household have been transferred, at least some of their obscure names, to the Capitol. A more judicious plan has lately been adopted at the instance of the Marquis Canova, who has adjusted some of the fragments, and

[1] Aringhi, Roma Subterranea, lib. iii. cap. i. num. 7. tom. i. p. 405, tells the story as a fact, or a conjecture, from Bosius, who has also made a thick volume on subterranean Rome. That volume and the two folios of Aringhi, connecting the history of Rome with that of martyrdom, may serve to show what was likely to become of the monuments in the hands of those who thought all that was worth looking for was under ground, and spurning the triumphal arches and columns of Pagan heroes, dived into cemeteries and catacombs in search of the founders of the city of God.

[2] "An tu egressus Porta Capena cum Calatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum, Metellorum sepulchra vides miseros putas illos?" Tuscul. Qu. lib. i.

[3] The three sepulchral chambers containing the urns of the household of Augustus were discovered opposite the first milestone on the Appian Way, and that of the family of Livia was opened in 1726, a little beyond. See Ant. Franc. Gori. de libertor. calumbario. ap. Poleno. tom. iii.

the inscription of the sepulchre of the Servilian family[1], and raised them where they were found. It may be observed that the great approaches to the cities were not marked by tombs alone, but partly by suburban villas, and tradesmen's houses, and semicircular seats. Thus they were frequented as public walks, and the beauty of the sepulchres, together with the religion of the people, and the wisdom of the higher orders, prevented any melancholy reflections from being suggested by the receptacles of the dead. Those who have seen the street of the tombs at Pompej will feel the truth of this observation. The Appian sepulchres extend, at short intervals, for several miles—let us fill the intermediate spaces with handsome edifices—restore the despoiled marbles to the tombs themselves—then imagine that the same decorations adorned all the other thirty great roads[2] which branched off from the capital; add to this also the banks of the Tyber, shaded with villas from as far as

[1] M. SERVILIVS QVARTVS
DE SVA PECVNIA FECIT.

"Fragmenta ad sepulc. hoc. AN. D. 1808, A CANOVA. reperta ac donata. PIVS. VII. P. M. ita in perpet. servanda consuluit."

[2] There were twenty-nine according to one account, and thirty-one according to another. Fam. Nardini. Roma Vetus, lib. viii. cap. i.

Otricoli[1] on the Sabine side to the port of Ostia, —with these additions, which it appears may be fairly supplied from ancient notices, we shall account for the immense space apparently occupied by the city and suburbs of old Rome.

Stanza LXXXI.

..... we but feel our way to err.

The greater share of satisfaction at Rome will come to the portion of those travellers who find, like Dante, a pleasure in doubting. The stranger, when he has entered the modern city, would, at least, wish to assure himself that he knows the site of ancient Rome. He has, however, to clear his ground of some of the conjectures of the learned, even before he can persuade himself thoroughly of this fact. He soon will believe that the circuit of the present walls is somewhat bigger than the region of the old Esquiliæ, and more than a two hundredth part of the Augustan city[2].

[1] Otricoli, the ancient Otriculum, is xxxvi. M. P. from Rome. Some writers thought the town stretched as far as this, but even Vossius gives up this absurdity, (De magnit. Romæ Vet. cap. v. ap. Græv. Antiq. Rom. tom. iv.) the villas however might. See Nardini Roma Vetus, lib. viii. cap. ii. Donatus de urbe Roma, lib. i. cap. xvi.

[2] "Vel solæ Esquiliæ majores erant, quam sit totum illud quod hodiernis includitur muris spatium." Isa. Vossii de

But he will not find it quite so easy to reconcile the various measurements with the actual appearance of the walls, or to understand how, as Mr. Gibbon tells us, "*their circumference, except in the Vatican, has been invariably the same, from the triumph of Aurelian to the peaceful but obscure reign of the Popes*[1]." If so, it was the same, first, when Alaric took Rome; secondly, when the dominion of the Popes was established; thirdly, at this day.

The circuit, diminished from the fifty miles of Vopiscus, "is reduced, by accurate measurement, to about twenty-one miles," says Mr. Gibbon, in his eleventh chapter[2]. This gives his measurement for the first period. But when Poggio saw them, "they formed a circumfer-

magnit. Rom. Veteris, p. 1507. ap. Græv. tom. iv. To have a perfect notion of the logic of learning, it is sufficient to read this insane treatise, which spreads the walls to 72 miles, and the inhabitants to 14 millions. There is scarcely an incontrovertible position in all his seven chapters. Lipsius is not quite so paradoxical in his conclusions, and he is much more ingenious in his array of authorities—his Rome is 23 miles.

[1] Decline and Fall, cap. xli. vol. vii. oct. p. 228.

[2] Ibid. vol. ii. oct. p. 28. See also another place. "When the capital of the empire was besieged by the Goths, the circuit of the walls was accurately measured by Ammonius the mathematician, who found it equal to twenty-one miles." Cap. xxxi. tom. xii. oct. p. 287.

ence of ten miles, included 379 turrets, and opened into the country by thirteen gates[1]." This serves for the second date. Lastly, "whatever fancy may conceive, the severe compass of the geographer defines the circumference of Rome within a line of twelve miles and three hundred and forty-five paces[2]." These words of the same historian apply to the third point of time.

Now it is quite clear that all these measurements differ, and yet it is equally clear that the historian avers they are all the same. He says, in another place, speaking of them in the age of Petrarch, the walls "still described the old circumference[3]." It is true he cites authorities; but he speaks without reserve, and has not attempted to account for the difference between the three above-given dimensions. We shall find no help, therefore, from the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, unless we follow

[1] Decline and Fall, cap. lxxi. tom. xii. oct. p. 398.

[2] Ibid. cap. xli. p. 227.

[3] Ibid. cap. lxxi. p. 411. tom. xii. Mr. Gibbon has failed to observe that the walls were dilated after Aurelian and Probus, by Constantine, who took down one of the sides of the Prætorian camp and made the remaining three serve for the fortifications of the city, whose circuit thereby became necessarily somewhat enlarged.

only one of these various accounts, and believe in the third computation, which is that assigned by D'Anville from Nolli's map, and which coincides with the experience of two of our countrymen, who made a loose calculation[1] of the circuit by walking round the walls in the winter of last year, (1817).

[1] The following is a note of their walk. They set out from the banks of the Tyber, near the Flaminian gate (Porta del Popolo); their rate of walking was 592 paces in five minutes, and they noted the time from gate to gate. To the Porta Pinciana (shut) 18 minutes—Porta Salara 8—Porta Pia 3—a shut gate (Querquetulana) 12—St. Lorenzo 8—Maggiore 7½—Lateran, or Porta St. Giovanni, 12½—Porta Latina (shut) 17½—Porta Capena, or St. Sebastiano, 4½—a shut gate 3½—Porta di St. Paolo (Ostian) 14½—delay 4½—within the wall, the outer circuit not being accessible, 4½—delay 7—within the walls down to the Tyber 6½—delay 4—bank of the Tyber within ruined wall 10½—delay occasioned by going across the Tyber to the opposite corner 38½—from bank of the Tyber to Porta Portese ½—Porta Aurelia, or S. Panerasio, 18½—Porta Cavalli leggieri 14½—a shut gate (Porta delle Fornaci) 2½—Porta Fabbrica (shut) 6—Porta Angelica 14½—Porta Castello (a shut gate) 5½—round to the corner of the bastion of St. Angelo, on bank of the Tyber 7½—along the bank of the Tyber where there are no walls, to the ferry at the Ripetta 7½—delay 10½—crossing the Tyber and walking along the bank to the corner of the walls whence they set out, 6½.—The time employed in walk was 4 hours, 38 minutes; the delays amounted to one hour, four minutes, and a quarter. The time taken walking round the actual circuit of the city

Poggio's measurement was probably nearly exact, for he did not reckon the ramparts of Urban, and, perhaps, not the Vatican; but it is singular, that the pilgrim of the thirteenth century, who undoubtedly saw the same walls, and enumerates very nearly the same quantity of turrets, should[1] give to them a circumference double that of the Florentine, and nearly coinciding with that of the time of Alaric, that is, twenty-one miles. If, however, they were so accurately measured at that time, the present walls cannot possibly stand on the site of those of Aurelian; for, since the Vatican has been included, and also the ramparts of Urban VIII. which Mr. Gibbon has overlooked, or falsely confounded with the Vatican, the modern circuit being larger on one side the Tyber, and the same on the other, it is evident that the whole circumference at present must be greater than it was under Aurelian. That is to say, twelve miles, three hundred and fifty-five paces,

was three hours, thirty-three minutes, and three quarters. Supposing the rate of walking to be about three miles and a half an hour, the measurement is twelve miles and a quarter.

[1] "Murus civitatis Romæ habet turres 361. Castella id est merulos 6900, portas 12, pusterulas (portæ minores) 5. In circuitu vero sunt milliaria 22. exceptis Transtiberim et civitate Leoninâ id est porticu St. Petri." Lib. de mirabilibus Romæ, in loc. citat. p. 283.

are more than twenty-one miles—" *which is absurd.*"

The present walls may touch at points and take in fragments, but they cannot include the same circumference as the twenty-one miles accurately measured by the mathematician Ammonius. Some assistance might be expected from the examination of the walls themselves: but here again it may be necessary to warn the reader in what manner he is to understand an assertion which he will find in another work, lately published, of the same author[1]. " *Those who examine with attention the walls of Rome, still distinguish the shapeless stones of the first Romans, the cut marbles with which they were constructed under the Emperors, and the ill-burnt bricks with which they were repaired in the barbarous ages.*" Now the whole of the modern walls are of brick, with the following exceptions. There are some traces of the arched work on which the walls of Aurelian, perhaps, were raised, about the Porta Pia and the Porta Salara. There are buttresses of travertine, and, in one

[1] " Ceux qui examinent avec attention les murailles de Rome distinguent encore les pierres informes des premiers Romains, les marbres bien travaillés dont on les construisit sous les Empereurs, et les briques malcuites dont on les reparoit dans les siecles barbares." Nomina gentesque antiquæ Italiæ, p. 209.

case (the Porta Capena), of marble, about the gateways, which are of the same imperial date. There are single shapeless fragments of marble here and there, mixed up with the more modern work, and occasionally laid upon the top of the walls. This is all that can apply to Mr. Gibbon's description; for as to the shapeless stones of the first Romans, they cannot be discovered, except in those scarcely distinguishable mounds which are within the walls, a little beyond the Thermæ of Diocletian, and are usually thought part of the Tullian rampart[1]. It must be remarked also, that there is no evidence that the walls of the Emperors were of cut marble. The authority of Cassiodorus has been followed by Marlianus[2] and others, as affording a proof that they were composed of square blocks. But it has been noted by Nardini[3], on another occasion, that the Gothic minister, in making use of the word *mœnia*, does not always allude to the walls of the city, but of other structures; and in that sense we have before interpreted, in a preceding

[1] The plan in the last edition of Venuti lays down the Agger Tarquinii in the space between the Lateran and Santa Croce in Gerusalemme: repeated search may fail in finding any trace of this Agger. Donatus positively says there is none. Lib. i. cap. xiii.

[2] Urbis Romæ topographia, lib. i. cap. ix.

[3] Roma Vetus, lib. i. cap. viii.

note[1], what he says of the *square stones* of the ruins. The same topographer justly remarks the contrary fact, that the oldest work now apparent is *of brick*[2]. The three sides of a square from near the Porta Pia to the Porta Querquetulana, a shut gate, seem to be the Prætorian ramparts included by Constantine, and not materially defaced by repairs[3]. The amphitheatre for the Prætorians is also in the Aurelian circuit, near the church of Santa Croce *in Gerusalemme;* and some large stones, laid one on another, without cement, contiguous to that amphitheatre, are only to be ascribed to the hasty preparations of Belisarius before the second siege. The strange reticulated hanging wall, opposite to the gate of the villa Borghese, was another ancient structure which made part of the defences of the city before the time of that general. All these three portions of the circuit are of brick, and the comparative antiquity of other parts is easily ascertained by those

[1] See note to Stanza LXXX.

[2] "Nam vetus illa substructio e lateribus est." Ibid.

[3] Donatus has observed that the words of Zosimus will not justify this inference, but that the present appearance of this part of the walls will. Lib. i. cap. xv. Fabricius, (descriptio urbis Romæ, cap. v. and vi.) has given a plate in which the *castra prætoria* are put without the walls, to correspond with the old appearance.

accustomed to such investigations. Some of the fragments of the next date are to be attributed to Honorius[1], a considerable restorer, or rather rebuilder of the walls. In the interval between his reign and that of Theodoric, repairs had become requisite, and were undertaken by that monarch. Belisarius made them capable of defence, and, in the subsequent occupation of the city, partly rebuilt that third portion which Totila had thrown down, and then helped afterwards to repair. Narses was also a restorer of the walls; and some work resembling that of the "Amphitheatre of the Camps" has been ascribed to his imitation of that more ancient construction[2].

It appears that the circuit followed by each of these restorers must have been very nearly, if not exactly, that of Aurelian, or at least Honorius[3]. No vestiges of foundations which could have belonged to those older walls can be discovered beyond the present circumfe-

[1] See Claudian in VI. Cons. Honor. and an inscription over a shut gate at the Porta Maggiore. Nardini, ibid. A similar inscription was over the Porta Portese, which was thrown down by Urban VIII. See Donatus, lib. 1. cap. xv.

[2] Nardini, ibid.

[3] Nardini thinks they were shrunk backwards a little towards the Amphitheatrum Castrense, when Belisarius repaired them the second time. Ibid.

rence; and the same fact has been ably deduced from many concurrent arguments, especially by Donatus, who tries to prove that the Popes who subsequently rebuilt and repaired them, also adopted the ancient line, and did not at all contract the space occupied by the old imperial fortifications[1].

How, then, are we to reconcile the measurement as it is stated to have been accurately taken by Ammonius, with the present circuit, which, except on the Transtiberine side, where it is larger, is evidently nearly the same as it was under the Emperors? There seems no expedient but to reject the authority of that mathematician, or rather his reporter Olympiodorus, and to believe that Pliny's older measurement of thirteen miles, two hundred paces[2], was not so much dilated by Aurelian as is generally thought[3]; and that it included every suburban

[1] De urbe Roma, lib. i. cap. xviii. xix. xx.

[2] "Mœnia ejus collegere ambitu Imperatoribus Censoribusque Vespasianis, anno conditæ DCCCXXVIII. passuum XIII. M.CC. complexa montes septem." This is the celebrated passage which has puzzled Lipsius and the commentators and topographers.

[3] Nardini, ibid. has shewn where the additional ground was taken in by Aurelian; and Donatus was almost inclined to think, that that Emperor had not enlarged the circuit. Cassiodorus and Eusebius do not talk of the walls being in-

district which was surrounded with a wall, such as the Prætorian camp, and the Transtiberine region, and might *therefore possibly* extend itself to spots where no traces of it have been found or sought for. In that case the discrepancy between the present and the ancient circuit will be much diminished, if not altogether annihilated. To this it may be added, that as the works of Narses, and, indeed, of the Emperors, were of brick, they might, when once decayed, very easily be gradually lost; and that when the Popes commenced their repairs, the diagonal of an irregular projection might here and there have been taken, instead of the former line, by which means a partial reduction, sufficient to account for the above difference, may be allowed to have taken place.

It should seem, that during the troubles of the exarchate, the walls had fallen down in many parts, and that the city was left naked on some points, particularly towards the gate of St. Lorenzo. The terms in which the rebuilding by the Popes, in the eighth century, are recorded, would imply almost a totally new construction. After Sisinnius and Gregory the Second and Third had made some progress in

creased, but fortified. Vopiscus, by mentioning fifty miles, has taken away all credit from himself or from his text. Donat. lib. i. cap. xix.

this useful labour, Hadrian the First convoked the peasants from Tuscany and Campania, and, with their help and that of the Romans, *rebuilt from their foundations,* in many places, the walls and towers in all their *circuit.* Such are the strong expressions of the papal biographer[1]. Leo IV. in 847, included the Borgo, that is, the Basilica of St. Peter's, and the contiguous quarter of the Vatican: and from his reign until that of Urban VIII. nineteen Pontiffs have been specified as contributing to the repairs. It is

[1] "Verum etiam et muros atque turres hujus Romanæ urbis quæ dirutæ erant et usque ad fundamenta destructæ renovarit atque utiliter omnia in circuitu restauravit." Anast. de Vit. Rom. Pontif. Script. Rer. Italic. tom. iii. p. 188.

"Ipse vero deo, ut dicitur, protectus Præsul conspiciens muros hujus civitatis Romanæ per olitana tempora in ruinis positos, et per loca plures turres usque ad terram eversas, per suum solertissimum studium totas civitates tam Tusciæ, quamque Campaniæ congregans una cum populo Romano, ejusque suburbanis, nec non et toto ecclesiastico patrimonio omnibus prædicans, et dividens ex sumptibus dapibusque Apostolicis totam urbem in circuitu restaurans universa renovavit, atque decoravit." Ibid. p. 194.

Anastasius *flourished* under Hadrian II. and John VIII. He writes only to Nicholas I. The remainder of the lives were written by William, another librarian, under the name of Damasus. See—Bianchini's prolegomena to the liber pontificalis. Both one and the other were compilers, not composers, of the lives. The edition in Muratori and that of Bianchini, have been used.

not at all surprising, therefore, that an early topographer should have declared, that the walls were indubitably not ancient[1]. The antiquaries profess to see a hundred different constructions in their mixed composition. Urban VIII. completed them as we now see them, by running his rampart along the acclivity of the Janiculum, from the Aurelian gate (Saint Pancrazio) to the angle of the Vatican, commonly called the *Porta de' cavalli leggieri*[2]. He entirely rebuilt them from the same Aurelian gate to the Porta Portese, on the banks of the Tyber. Since that period other Pontiffs have been active in repairs, but no change has taken place in the circuit; concerning which we may finally conclude, that it is equal, very nearly, if not quite, to the largest circumference of the ancient city, and, except on the Transtiberine side, *generally* follows the line of Aurelian. It is equally clear, that the *exact* ancient line could not always be followed. We see this from the bastion of Paul III. at the foot of the Aventine, which, if it had been finished, would have probably been considered as upon that ancient line.

[1] "Mœnia urbis nunc extantia non esse antiqua sicut nulli est dubium, ita multis argumentis apparet." Marlian. Urb. Rom. Topog. lib. i. cap. ix.

[2] Donatus, lib. i. cap. xx.

If from the walls themselves we retire into the interior of their vast circuit, we shall be still more confounded, and "stumble o'er recollections." The names given to the monuments perpetually vary, according to the fancy of some predominant antiquary. At one period all vaulted ruins belong to baths, at another they are portions of temples; Basilicas are at times the favourite denomination. The consequence of this varying nomenclature is the embarrassment of those who put themselves under the guidance of the best ancient or modern topographers; and we are often apt to reduce the monuments of all the regions to the character given by Nardini to those of the Aventine, which he divides into "sites not altogether uncertain, and sites evidently uncertain[1]."

The antiquarian disputes began at an early period; and where nothing but a name was left, there was still some pleasure found in the struggles of conjecture. The *mica aurea* has not been seen since the ninth century; but it afforded

[1] "Situs non omnino incerti et situs plane incerti." Lib. viii. cap. vi. The choice of Remus is peculiarly deserted. Victor alone has left any account of it. In all the twelfth region, between the Circus Maximus and the Baths of Caracalla, the latter was the only monument recognisable by the eyes of the above topographer.

an opportunity of quoting Plutarch, Ammian, and Martial, to shew, that it might have been *a Greek girl*, or *a Bear*, or *a Supper-house*[1]. The actual remains were soon found to be no less uncertain. The two vaults of the church of St. Maria Nuova were believed, by Pomponius Lætus, the fragments of a temple of Æsculapius and Health; by Marlianus, of the Sun and Moon; by Blondus, of Æsculapius and Apollo; by Poggio, of Castor and Pollux[2]. They are now called the Temple of Venus and Rome, according to the opinion to which Nardini seemed to incline[3]. See also the many names given to the temple of Santa Maria Egizziaca[4]. Some thought it a chapel of Patrician Modesty, some a Basilica of Caius and Lucius, some a temple of Good Fortune, others of Manly Fortune. It is now come back to Modesty[5]. The temple

[1] Nardini, lib. iii. cap. viii.

[2] Fabricii Descrip. Urb. Rom. cap. ix, ap. Græv. Ant. tom. iii. Attached to it is the church now called S. Francesca Romana; and if the stranger goes for information to the modern inscription, he will find these words: "*In queste pietre pose le ginochia S. Pietro quando i demonj portarono Simone Mago per aria.*"

[3] Nardini, lib. iii. cap. 2.

[4] Donatus, lib. ii. cap. 18. Nardini, lib. vii. cap. iv.

[5] In the time of Fulvius, this tract about the Patrician Modesty was solely inhabited by prostitutes. Nardini, lib. vii. cap. iv.

attributed to Vesta, on the banks of the Tyber, was once thought that of Hercules Victor, and also of the Sun. Pomponius Lætus[1] called it that of Juno Matuta, others named the goddess Volupia[2]. Hercules was recovering his rights during the winter of 1817. The Patrician Modesty is transferred, by an inscription, to the church of Santa Maria *in Cosmedin*, commonly called the Schola Græca; and the same inscription asserts, that Saint Augustine taught rhetoric in this school[3].

Other examples of uncertainty will occur in the subsequent notices of individual monuments. It would be hazardous to give a list of those which can suggest no reasonable doubts. The Coliseum, the three Triumphal Arches, those of Drusus, of Dolabella and Silanus, of Gallienus; the Baths of Diocletian, of Caracalla, of Constantine, a part of those of Titus; the Theatre of Marcellus, the few remains of that of Pompey: the two bridges of the Tiberine island; the

[1] Donatus, lib. ii. cap. xxv.

[2] "Alii Herculis, alii Vestæ, alii deæ Volupiæ." Montfaucon, Diarium Italicum, p. 188.

[3] No trust is to be put in modern inscriptions, and sometimes not in those which have every appearance of antiquity. Doubts have been entertained even about the inscription on the tomb of Bibulus, by Augustinus, in his dialogue on ancient coins.

mausoleums of Augustus and Hadrian; the two historical columns; the tomb of Cestius, the tomb of Bibulus, the tomb of the Scipios; the Pantheon; the column of Phocas; the Septimian arch in the Velabrum; the inscribed obelisks; the *castellum* of the Claudian aqueduct; two or three of the city gates; the arcades of the Cloaca; the Ælian bridge: these seem the most secure from scepticism; and it would be difficult to name another monument within the walls of an equally certain character.

Stanza LXXXII.

.....for never shall we see
That brightness in her eye she bore when Rome was free.

It was one of the complaints of Poggio[1] that he saw almost nothing entire, and but very few remains of the free city; and indeed the principal disappointment at Rome arises from finding such insignificant vestiges of the first ages and of the republic. Something, perhaps, might be added to the lists of them given by Mr. Forsyth: but not much. We have seen how soon those works disappeared; but we might still have expected to find some-

[1] "Nam ex publicis aut privatis operibus liberæ quondam civitatis interrupta quædam et ea parva vestigia visuntur." De Varietate, &c, loc. cit.

thing more than a sewer, a prison, a row of vaults, a foundation wall, a pavement, a sepulchre, a half-buried fragment of a theatre and circus. The artist may be comparatively indifferent to the date and history, and regard chiefly the architectural merit of a structure: but the Rome which the republican Florentine regretted and which an Englishman must wish to find, is not that of Augustus and his successors, but of those greater and better men, of whose heroic actions his earliest impressions are composed.

We have heard too much of the turbulence of the Roman democracy and of the Augustan virtues. No civil tranquillity can compensate for that perpetual submission, not to laws but persons, which must be required from the subjects of the most limited monarchy. The citizens of the worst regulated republic must feel a pride and may indulge a hope superior to all the blessings of domestic peace, and of what is called established order, another word for durable servitude. The struggles for supreme though temporary power amongst those of an equal condition, give birth to all the nobler energies of the mind, and find space for their unbounded exertion. Under a monarchy, however well attempered, the chief motive for action must be altogether wanting, or feebly felt, or

cautiously encouraged. Duties purely ministerial, honours derived from an individual, may be meritoriously performed, may be gracefully worn: but, as an object of ambition, they are infinitely below the independent control of our fellow-citizens, and perhaps scarcely furnish a compensation for entire repose. The natural love of distinction on any terms may push us into public life; but it palsies our efforts, it mortifies our success, perpetually to feel that in such a career, although a failure is disgraceful, a victory is inglorious;

"*Vincere inglorium—atteri sordidum.*"

These are the sentiments of Agricola and the words of Tacitus, and bespeak the real value of the subordinate dignity, which is all that can be attained under a Domitian or under a Trajan, under the worst or under the best of princes.

As those glorious institutions which subdued and civilized the world have long seemed incompatible with the altered condition of mankind, we recur with the greater eagerness to every memorial of their former existence: and hence our regret at finding so little of the early city. The courtly and melodious muses that graced the first age of the monarchy have indeed, affixed an imperishable interest to every

site and object connected with their patrons or their poetry: and in default of republican relics we are content with looking on the floorings of the Esquiline palace and at the fabric dedicated to him who has found a more durable monument in the verses of Virgil. The house of Mæcenas and the theatre of Marcellus can boast no other attraction.

It is not to be denied but that by good fortune the most virtuous of the Roman sovereigns have left the most conspicuous monuments, and that we are thus perpetually recalled to an age in which mankind are supposed to have been more happy and content than during any other period of history. We may look at the Coliseum, the temples of Vespasian and Antoninus, the arch of Titus and the historical columns, without cursing the usurpation of Augustus.

But it is not to worship at the shrine of the Flavian princes nor to do homage to the forbearance of Trajan, (the word is not used at random[1],) or to the philosophy of Aurelius, that we undertake the pilgrimage of Rome. The men whose traces we would wish to dis-

[1] Νῦν δὲ τοῦ τε ὄινου διακόρως ἔπινε, καὶ νήφων ἦν, ἔν τε τοῖς παιδικοῖς οὐδένα ἐλύπησεν. Dion. Hist. Rom. lib. 68. tom. ii. p. 1125. edit. Hamb. 1750. It may be recollected why Julian excluded Trajan from the banquet of the Cæsars.

cover were cast in another mould, and belonged to that order of beings whose superior qualities were by the wisest of their immediate successors[1] as well as by the slaves of the last emperors[2], acknowledged to have expired with the republic. It is with the builders, and not the dilapidators of the Roman race that we would hope to meet in the Capitol. Our youthful pursuits inspire us with no respect or affection for this nation independent of their republican virtues. It is to refresh our recollection of those virtues that we explore the ruins of the city which gave them birth; and absorbed by an early devotion for the patriots of Rome, we are indifferent to the records of her princes. We feel no sympathy with the survivors of Philippi. We would prefer a single fragment of the Palatine house of Hortensius or of Cicero to all the lofty ruins which fringe the imperial hill.

As it is, we must visit a sepulchre or a museum; must trust to one amongst a range of

[1] "Postquam bellatum apud Actium, atque omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit; magna illa ingenia cessere." Tacit. Hist. lib. i. cap. i.

[2] "Postquam jura ferox in se communia Cæsar
Transtulit; et lapsi mores; desuetaque priscis
Artibus, in gremium pacis servile recessi."
Claud. de bello. Gildonico.

doubtful busts; must unravel an inscription, and extricate ourselves from antiquarian doubts before we are recalled to the city of the Scipios, whilst every thing around us attests the might and the magnificence of the Cæsars.

Stanza CIII.

.....Metella died,
The wealthiest Roman's wife; Behold his love or pride!

Four words and two initials compose the whole of the inscription, which, whatever was its ancient position, is now placed in front of this towering sepulchre:

CÆCILIAE . Q. CRETICI. F. METELLAE . CRASSI.

It is more likely to have been the pride than the love of Crassus which raised so superb a memorial to a wife whose name is not mentioned in history, unless she be supposed to be that lady whose intimacy with Dolabella was so offensive to Tullia the daughter of Cicero, or she who was divorced by Lentulus Spinther, or she, perhaps the same person, from whose ear the son of Æsopus transferred a precious jewel to enrich his draught[1].

[1] "Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ
(Scilicet ut decies solidum exsorberet) aceto
Diluit insignem baccam.
Hor. Sat. Lib. ii. Sat. iii. ver. 239.

When Mr. Bayle wanted to find another Roman matron of the same name with whom to divide the redundant vices of two or three other Cecilia Metellas, he seems to have known nothing of this wife of Crassus and daughter of the Cretic Metellus, whom, otherwise, he might have suspected of being the counterpart of his Madame D'Olonne[1].

The common people have been more attentive to the ornaments of the sculptor than to the memory of the matron, for the metopes of the frieze, or a single ox's head with the Gaetani arms, gave to this tower during the middle ages the name of Capo di Bove[2]. There appears to have been another place of the same name near Ostia in the year 953, unless this tomb should be supposed to be the place alluded to in an old charter of that date[3]. It was, indeed, an old Roman name; for Suetonius mentions that Augustus was born at a spot in the Palatine called *ad capita bubula*[4].

[1] Dictionnaire, article "Metella."

[2] Nardini, lib. iii. cap. iii. appears to say it is called Capo di Bove from a single ox's head sculptured over the door with the arms of the Gaetani which Echinard. (Agro Romano, &c. p. 295,) also notices, but which the writer does not recollect to have seen.

[3] Dissertazione sulla rovine, &c. p. 331. note B.

[4] In vita August. cap. v.

At what period the tomb of Metella was converted into the citadel of a fort can be guessed only by the period at which the monuments in the city were occupied by the nobles. Certain it is that the tomb was put at once to this purpose without any previous spoliation, and that the garrison unconcernedly dwelt over not only the mausoleum but the very ashes of Metella, for the coffin remained in the interior of the sepulchre to the time of Paul III. who removed it to the court of the Farnese palace[1]. The Savelli family were in possession of the fortress in 1312, and the German army of Henry VII. marched from Rome[2], attacked, took, and burnt it, but were unable to make themselves by force masters of the citadel, that is, of the tomb, which must give us a high notion of its strength or of their weakness. The soldiers of the tomb surrendered their post upon terms, and Henry transferred the whole property to a brother of John Savelli who had married one of the Colonna, and who was to keep it until a sum

[1] Echinard. agro Romano. ibid. in loc. citat. not.

[2] "Unde moti Romani cum Theotonicis ad unum castrum, quod vocatur caput Bovis prope urbem ad duo milliaria, quod castrum erat Domini Johannis de Sabello, cucurrerunt, et castrum, excepta arce, violenter acceperunt, et partem combusserunt," &c. &c. Iter Italicum. Henrici VII. Imper. Script. Rer. Ital. tom. ix. p. 918.

of 20,000 marks due to the emperor had been discharged by the dispossessed baron. The Gaetani family became masters of the place afterwards; they raised the walls which are still seen contiguous to the tomb, and were part of their mansion and adjoining offices. To their labours is ascribed the superstructure, part of which still remains on the top of the monument.

Poggio[1] saw the tomb entire when he first came to Rome, but during his absence the Romans had ground *this noble work*, for the most part, to lime. This demolition, however, must be understood only of the square basement on which, like the mausoleum of Hadrian, the round tower was raised. Nor was it complete even of the basement, which was not reduced to its present condition until the time of Urban VIII., who, we have seen, cut away some of the travertine blocks for the construction of the fountain of Trevi[2]. The destroyer of the adjoining fortress was Sixtus Quintus, the Hercules of modern Rome, who dislodged every Cacus and cleared the Pontifical states of their dens.

[1] "Juxta Viam Appiam ad secundum lapidem integrum vidi sepulchrum Q. Cæciliæ Metellæ, opus egregium, et id tot seculis intactum, ad calcem postea majore ex parte exterminatum." De Fortunæ Varietate, p. 508. loc. cit.

[2] See note on Stanza lxxx.

The tomb has, indeed, been much disfigured, and the lower part of it retains only a few jutting blocks of its former structure; but it is still amongst the most conspicuous of the Roman ruins, and Mr. Gibbon must have been strangely forgetful of what he had seen when he wrote "*The sepulchre of Metella has sunk under its outworks*[1]." On the contrary, it is the sepulchre which remains and the outworks which have sunk. The feeble labours of puny modern

[1] Decline and Fall, cap. lxxi. p. 415. tom. xii. To this he has the following note: "I must copy an important passage of Montfaucon: Turris ingens rotunda.... Cæciliæ Metellæ sepulchrum erat, cujus muri tam solidi ut spatium perquam minimum intus vacuum supersit; et Torre di bove dicitur, a boum capitibus muro inscriptis. Huic, sequiori ævo, tempore intestinorum bellorum, ceu urbecula adjuncta fuit, cujus mœnia et turres etiamnum visuntur; ita ut sepulchrum Metellæ quasi arx oppiduli fuerit. Ferventibus in urbe partibus, cum Ursini atque Columnenses mutuis cladibus perniciem inferrent civitati, in utriusve partis ditionem cederet magni momenti erat." This passage, which the reader will find in the Diarium Italicum, p. 156, surely need not have been ushered in with such solemnity, as if it related a fact to be collected no where else than in Montfaucon, or as if the occupation of Roman monuments by the factions was to be seen only at this tomb. Nothing remarkable is told by Montfaucon except the fact contradicted by the passage to which this note is appended, namely, that there *was a great tower* which had been the sepulchre of Metella, consequently that the said sepulchre had *not* "sunk under its outworks."

nerves are fast crumbling round the massive fabric which seems to promise an existence as long as the period of its former duration.

It must seem singular that so little should be known of the two persons whose tombs were to survive those of so many illustrious names. Cestius is as little famous as Metella, and his pyramid is no less conspicuous than her tower. Oblivion, however, has been kind perhaps to one who has left no other present to posterity than this ambitious sepulchre; if, as there is some reason to suspect, this Cestius, Tribune of the people, Prætor, and a Septemvir, is the same Cestius, a Prætor, and flatterer of the Augustan court, who was publicly scourged by the order of Marcus Cicero the son for presuming to defame his father in his presence[1].

A learned person who wrote a dissertation on this pyramid and disproved the mistake of Panvinius in supposing Cestius to be the consul of that name mentioned in the annals of Tacitus[2], asserts that there is a total silence with respect to him in all ancient authors, but that he must have died at least as early as the middle of the reign of Augustus[3]. The Cestius above

[1] M. Seneca. Suasor. 6.

[2] Lib. vi. cap. 31,

[3] "Altissimum enim de illo apud scriptores veteres silen-

mentioned did not suggest himself to the antiquary, and perhaps may be the man we want.

Stanza CVII.

For all that Learning reap'd
From her research hath been, that these are walls—
Behold the Imperial Mount! 'tis thus the mighty falls.

The troops of Genzerick occupied the Palatine and despoiled it of all its riches[1]. The ruin of the structures themselves is involved in the most impenetrable obscurity: nor have the immense masses which remain, assisted, though they have stimulated, research. Theodoric found their beauty admirable[2], but impaired by age. From that moment the palace of the Cæsars disappears, and the labours of the antiquary have been unable to produce more than a single word to show that it was not ruined by Totila, which is the general persuasion.

Anastasius, in the life of Pope Constantine

tium est." Octavii Falconerii, de pyramide C. Cestii Epulonis, dissertatio ap. Græv. Antiq. Roman. tom. iv. p. 1475.

[1] Sidon. Apollon. See—note to Stanza lxxx.

[2] "Quando pulchritudo illa mirabilis, si subinde non reficitur, senectute obrepente vitiatur." Cassiod. Variar. lib. vii. epist. v.

who was elected in 708, narrating a civil commotion which took place in Rome against the emperor Philip, has these words: "And it came to pass that whilst Christopher, who was duke, was contending on this account with Agatho and his followers, a civil war arose, so that they came to arms in the sacred way *before the palace*[1]". What a fate! The palace may have been a fragment, or, as it now is, a word.

When the Palatine again rises, it rises in ruins. A corner of the structures had served to lodge the Frangipane family. The Turris Cartularia included a portion of the Palatine mansions and the arch of Titus[2]. It was thrown down in 1240 by Gregory IX., was rebuilt, and shortly after destroyed by the people.

The pilgrim of the thirteenth century who talks of the imperial palace must be alluding

[1] "Et factum est dum Christophorus, qui erat Dux, obhanc causam cum Agathone et suis hominibus concertarent, bellum civile exhortum est, ita ut in via sacra ante palatium sese committerent," &c. De vitis Roman. Pontif. ap. Script. Rer. Ital. tom. iii. p. 153.

[2] It was one of the strong houses of the Frangipane to which Pope Innocent II. retreated in 1138 in his struggles with the antipope Anaclete II. See—Onuph. Panvinius de gente Fregepanica. ap. Marangoni. Delle memorie sacre e profane dell' Anfiteatro Flavio. Roma, 1746. p. 31, 52. edit. 1746. Alexander III. also retired thither in 1167.

to *sites* not buildings. In the beginning of the fifteenth century there was not a single edifice standing on the whole mount except the church of St. Nicholas, built by Pope Calixtus[1], which was itself in ruins.

The Farnese family were ambitious of a summer house in the imperial precincts. They levelled, they built, and they planted; Michael Angelo designed, Raffael painted, and the master pieces of ancient sculpture, statues, reliefs, and coloured marbles, were drawn from beneath the ruins of Caracalla's baths and of the Flavian amphitheatre for the embellishment of the rising villa. Following antiquaries, from Donatus[2] to Venuti[3], were pleased to remark that these peopled gardens had succeeded to the solitude of the long neglected hill. The extinction or aggrandisement of the Farnese dukes stripped this retreat as well as the palace of the

[1] "Multo autem pauciora habet integra Palatinus mons quam Capitolinus aut Aventinus, nam præter S. Nicolai ecclesiam a Calixto Papa ædificatam, quæ et male integra cernitur nullum is celeberrimus mons habet ædificium." Flav. Blond. Roma. Inst. lib. i. fo. 11.

[2] "Nunc tanta molis vel suis obruta ruinis est; vel parietibus ac porticibus informis vel transiit in amænitatem Farnesiorum hortorum." Donat. lib. iii. cap. ii.

[3] Roma moderna, &c. Rione xii. tom. ii. p. 396.

family of all its treasures[1]. Naples was again fated to be enriched by the plunder of Rome. The Palatine villa was abandoned, and in less than half a century[2] has fallen to the ground. The naked fountain and twisted steps of Michael Angelo, and the cockle-shell incrusted walls, form a singular contrast with the lofty arcades on the Cæsarean side.

The Palatine was never entirely covered with structures; space must be left for gardens, for a manege, and for a hippodrome[3]. Antiquaries, to prove the latter, have been obliged to have recourse to the acts of the martyrs, but there are evident signs of the Course in one of the gardens. There are abundant materials for dispute in the masses of the palace, which cased the whole hill in brick work, and of the many temples which lodged the gods that watched over the Emperor[4]. A view of the Palatine

[1] The great Campo Fiore palace is much neglected; it requires a princely court to occupy it, and the Neapolitan ambassador is lost in *one* of the suites of *one* of the stories of *one* of the sides of the vast square.

[2] Venuti, (ibid,) seems to have seen it entire.

[3] St. Sebastian was shot with arrows, as we see in so many fine pictures, in the hippodrome of the palace.

[4] See quotation from Claud. in vi. Cons. Honor. in note to Stanza lxxx. Nardini, lib. vi. cap. xiii. and xiv. reckons nineteen at least.

ruins, in Paul V.'s time[1], marks a temple of Orcus, a temple of Cybele, a temple of Heliogabalus, to all which other names have succeeded with equal authority. The precise details of Bianchini[2], who dissected the soil and assigned to all the ruins above and below their distinct character and function, have retained few believers even amongst the Romans. A subterranean cell, in the vineyard of the Farnese gardens, still preserves the name of the Baths of Livia, for some reason not apparent in the construction or site. The King of Naples has kindly not stripped off all the arabesques, but left a portion to show how the whole apartments were once adorned. These paintings do not suffer so much from the oozing of the saltpetre as when exposed to the external air, as they have found in the open chambers of the Baths of Titus. The gilding preserves its freshness, and the outlines their edge, and seem liable to no injury but from the torches of the guides.

Several blocks of sculptured marble above the ruins of the summer house, are honoured with the name of the Palatine Apollo. Of this temple, an early topographer thought he saw

[1] Vedute degli antichi vestigj, &c. See note to Stanza lxxx.

[2] Palazzo de' Cesari.

some vestiges overlooking the Circus Maximus on the other side of the hill.

A contiguous portion of the Palatine is occupied by the kitchen gardens and vineyards of the Casino Spada, or Magnani, which the pretended frescoes of Raphael have not preserved from ruin. Half a century ago a tower looking over the site of the Circus Maximus, and which made part of the Cæsarean palace, was restored. But the curse of Jerusalem hangs over this hill —it is again in ruins. In this quarter is shown a suite of subterranean chambers, usually denominated the Baths of Nero; for this Emperor being a great builder, is generally called in to father all unknown remains. An Englishman excavated these chambers in 1777, and the ground of the villa is now at the disposal of any one who chooses to pay a very moderate sum for so imperial a purchase, and the pleasure of experiments.

The Palatine, it has been remarked, has, no less than the vallies, been encumbered with accumulated soil. These chambers were surely above ground. No descent to them was discovered, but has been since constructed.

The next garden and vineyard, for so the Palatine is now divided, is in possession of the Irish college, and some rustic or playful antiquaries had, in 1817, chalked upon the gate-

way, "The *Hippodrome, the Temple of Apollo, the house of the Vestals.*" The shape of the vineyard does resemble a place for equestrian exercises. Apollo and the Vestals may be lodged at will in any of the towering vaults or underground crypts of these enormous masses.

You may explore for hours either above or below, through the arched corridores, or on the platforms whose stuccoed floorings have resisted a thousand winters, and serve as a roof to the ruins beneath. From the corner of this platform there is one of the most impressive views of the Coliseum and the remains of the old city, both within and without the walls. The long lines of aqueducts stretched across the bare campagna, are the arms of the fallen giant. The look of these great structures, built for some purpose which the shrunk condition of the modern city did not render apparent, made a Roman of the fifteenth century call them *insane*[1]. Your walks in the Palatine ruins, if it be one of the many days when the labourers do not work, will be undisturbed, unless you startle a fox in breaking through the brambles in the corridores, or burst unawares through the hole of some shivered

[1] "Celsos fornices et insana acquæductorum opera perlustrans," F. Blond. Roma. Inst. lib. iii. fo. 3. if he did not mean *broken*.

fragments into one of the half buried chambers which the peasants have blocked up to serve as stalls for their jackasses, or as huts for those who watch the gardens. The smoke of their wood fires has not hidden the stuccoes and deeply indented mouldings of the imperial roofs. The soil accumulated in this quarter has formed a slope on the side of the ruins, and some steps have been adjusted into the bank. Half way up an open oratory has been niched into a wall.

Religion is still triumphant after the fall of the palace of the Cæsars, the towers of feudal lords, and the villas of papal princes. The church and contiguous monastery of St. Bonaventura, preserve a spark of life upon the site of the town of Romulus. The only lane which crosses the Palatine, leads to this church between dead walls, where the stations of the *via crucis* divert the attention from the fall of the Cæsars, to the sublimer and more humiliating sufferings of God himself. The tall fragments of the imperial ruins rising from a hill, which seems one wide field of crossed and trellised reeds hung round with vines, form the most striking portion of the prospect of the old town, seen from the platform of St. Pietro *in Montorio*, or the other eminences beyond the Tyber. They are so thickly strewn, and so massive, that it is not surprising the inhabitants of the rising

town chose rather to seek for other sites, than to attempt to clear them away. But they are not without their use, for the flagging vapours of the malaria are supposed to settle round their summits, as well as those of the Coliseum, and thus to spare the modern city.

Where all repair has been hopeless, the descendants of those who reared these mighty fabrics have converted the desolation of the ancient city to the purposes of other havoc They scrape the old walls of the Palatine, as well as those of the Baths of Titus, for saltpetre, of which a manufacture has been established in both those positions; and thus, if the phrase may be used, ruin begets ruin, destruction propagates destruction.

Stanza CX.

——— and apostolic statues climb
To crush the imperial urn, whose ashes lay sublime, &c.

Sixtus Quintus raised the statue of St. Peter on the summit of the column of Trajan. A liberty has, in the above verses, been taken with the probable position of the urn of Trajan, in compliance with a tradition, that the ashes of that emperor were in the head of a spear, which the colossal statue raised on the pillar, held

in his hand[1]. But the remains of Trajan were buried in a golden urn under the column[2], and continued in that depository in the time of Theodoric. The value of the urn was sure to be fatal to the deposit; but we know nothing of the time when poverty and rapine had lost all respect for the remains of the best of the Roman princes. An absurd story, which was current in the *English* churches in the ninth century, would make us suppose that the Christians condescended to except Trajan from the usual condemnation of pagans, and that Gregory the

[1] A medal of Vespasian has been found with a column surmounted by an urn. See—Joseph. Castalionis, de colum. triump. comment. ap. Græv. Antiq. Rom. tom. iv. p. 1947.

[2] Τὰ δὲ τοῦ Τραϊανου ὀστᾶ ἐν τῷ κιόνι ἀυτοῦ κατετέθη. Dion. Hist. Rom. lib. 69. tom. ii. p. 1150. edit. Hamb. 1750. "Sunt qui in pila, quam tenebat Colossus, cineres conditos dicunt: quo fundamento adhuc requiro." See Comment. to lib. lxviii. tom. ii. p. 1133, of the Xylandro-Leunclavian version.

"Ossa in urna aurea collocata sub Columna Fori quæ ejus nomine vocitatur, recondita sunt, cujus columnæ altitudo in 140 pedes erigitur." Cassiod. in Chronic. p. 388. tom. i. fo. 1679. Cassiodorus must be reckoned good authority for what he tells of the Rome which he saw, although his chronicle from the beginning of the world to the year 519, must be expected to be *rather* inaccurate. For a character of this writer, and for the question whether there were not two Cassiodorus, father and son, to whom the actions of the one should be attributed, see—Tiraboschi Storia della Lett. Ital. tom. iii. lib. i. cap. i.

Great, in passing through the Forum, was moved to compassion for the emperor in purgatory, and prayed for and liberated his soul[1]. The diminished charity of future zeal induced Bellarmine and the graver writers to reject this narration as *a putid* fable, and, for the best of reasons, since St. Gregory himself, in the fourth book of his Dialogues, (cap. 44.) has declared, " that we should not pray for the devil and his angels reserved for eternal punishment, nor for infidels, nor the impious defunct[2]." The report, however, of Gregory's biographers must make us think that the ashes had not yet been removed from the column, for if they had, it might have been forgotten, as at present, that this monument was ever a place of sepulture.

[1] The story is told by Paul the Deacon, and by John the Deacon; the latter says he heard it in some English churches. See note to Stanza lxxx.

[2] " Docet orandum non esse pro diabolo, angelisque ejus æterno supplicio deputatis, neque pro infidelibus hominibus impiisque defunctis." See—Dissertat. v. de Romanis Imperatorib. ap. Io. Laurent. Berti. Histor. Ecclesi. &c. tom. ii. p. 72. Bassani. 1769.

Tiraboschi laughs at John of Salisbury for telling the story of Trajan's liberation from hell by Gregory; but he praises John the Deacon, who had not mentioned the burning of the Palatine library by the Pontiff, forgetting that John had told the story about Trajan. Storia della lett. Ital. tom. iii. lib. ii. p. 106 and 111.

The Romans having performed one great work, chose to commemorate it by another. The stranger, at the first sight of the column, naturally expects to find that the inscription will refer to the virtues, or at least the victories, of the prince whose exploits are sculptured upon it, but he reads only that the pillar was raised to show how much of the hill, and to what height had, with infinite labour, been cleared away[1]. The historian Dion shows he can never have read this simple inscription, when he says that the column was raised by Trajan, "*partly* for a sepulchre, as well as for an evidence of the labour with which the Forum was made[2]." The first object does not appear to have been entertained by Trajan or the senate. No emperor had been buried within the city, and it was Hadrian who transferred his predecessor's bones to this unusual and conspicuous position.

The Forum of Trajan served, amongst other purposes, to perpetuate the memory of the good

[1] Senatus, Populusque Romanus
Imp. Caes. Divi. Nervæ. F. Trajano. Aug. Germa
nico. Dacico. Pont. Max. Trib. Pot. XII. Cos. XI. P. P.
Ad. Declarandum. Quantæ. Altitudinis.
Mons. Et. Locus. Tan. [*tis. operi* or *ruderi*] bus. Sit. Egestus.

[2] Ἅμα μὲν εἰς ταφὴν ἑαυτῷ ἅμα δὲ εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔργου, κ. τ. λ. Hist. Rom. lib. 68. p. 1133. tom. ii.

and great, or of such as, in those declining ages, could pretend to that distinction. But, lest there should be any want of subjects, young men of great promise, who had died in the flower of their age, were honoured with a statue[1]. We know that Marcus Aurelius erected statues in this Forum to all those who fell in the German war, and that Alexander Severus transferred thither those of other celebrated personages from other sites: amongst them was one of Augustus, *ex electro*, and another of Nicomedes, in ivory[2]. The same place was devoted to the labours and the rewards of literary heroes: here the poets and others recited their compositions, perhaps in the Ulpian library, whose treasures were transferred by Diocletian to his own Thermæ; and here their images were allowed a place amongst conquerors and monarchs. The prefect Aurelius Symmachus, whom his cotemporaries thought superior to Tully[3], Claudian, and Aurelius Victor, were, we may suspect, the most worthy ornaments of the Forum. But the honours of the statue were conferred

[1] Plin. lib. ii. epist. vii.

[2] Euseb. in Chronic. Lamprid. in vit. Sever. Nardini, lib. v. cap. ix.

[3] —— cui cedat et ipse
Tullius. Prudent.

on inferior personages: Sidonius Apollinaris[1], Marius Victorinus, the schoolmaster, Proæresius, the *king of eloquence*, we know were there[2], and these may have been associated with the meaner names of Minervius, Sedatus, and Palladius, with Ælius Donatus, with Nonius Marcellus of Tivoli, Sextus Pompeius Festus, Servius the commentator, Prætextatus the friend of Macrobius, and that more valuable writer himself. There also may have been seen, Eutropius, the lost historians Flavius Dexter, and Nicomachus Flavianus[3], the almost unknown Optatian, and Perphinius. Even in the Gothic reigns, the custom of raising statues, at least to princes, appears to have prevailed. Mention is made by Procopius of statues of Theodoric, and Theodatus, and Justinian, and it is probable these might have been in the Forum of Trajan[4]. The sight of this Forum would fur-

[1] Carmina, 7 and 8.

[2] "Regina rerum Roma Regi Eloquentiæ." So the inscription ran. Eunap. in vit. Sophist. 1. 8.

[3] Cecina Decius and Albinus, the regionaries, the authors of the Tables of Peutinger and the Antonine Itineraries, and other writers, have been enumerated by the industry of Fabricius, Bib. Lat.

[4] De Bello Gothico, lib. i. cap. 24. Here Procopius names *the Forum* as the place where the miraculous *mosaic* image of Theodoric was raised, and fell to pieces gradually with the Gothic kingdom; the head with Theodoric, the belly with

nish a singular supplement to ancient history, and rescue from oblivion many who were as much the delight and admiration of their co-temporaries as Cicero or Virgil.

Fragments of statues and pedestals were dug up in the great excavation, but only five inscriptions, of which four were copies of each other and in honour of Trajan[1], were discovered by the labourers. The first of these, however, confirms the above remark, and has for the first time introduced to the modern world Flavius Merobaudes[2], a person whose merits were of the

Theodatus, and the lower parts with Amalasuntha; but in lib. iii. cap. xx. other statues are mentioned.

[1] Senatus, Populusque Romanus
Imp. Cæsari. Divi
Nervæ. F. Nervæ
Trajano. Augusto
Germanico. Dacico
Pontif. Max. Tribunicia
Potest. XVI. Imp. VI. cos. VI. PP.
Optime de Republica
Merito. Domi Forisque.

[2] Fl. Merobaudi aeque forti et docto viro tam facere
Laudanda quam aliorum facta laudare præcipuo
Castrensi experientia claro facundia vel otiosorum
Studia supergresso cui a crepundiis par virtutis et elo
Quentiæ cura ingenium ita fortitudini ut doctrinæ
Natum stilo et gladio pariter exercuit. Nec in umbra
Vel latebris mentis vigorem scholari tantum otio
Torpere passus. Inter arma litteris militabat

most exalted description, and, so they thought in the days of Theodosius and Valentinian, comparable to the most extraordinary characters of antiquity.

It may have been seen from former remarks, that at an early period, which cannot exactly be fixed, the Forum of Trajan, the noblest structure of all Rome, had partaken of the general desolation. From the moment we find a church there, we may be sure the destruction had begun. This was as early as the beginning of the twelfth century, and as that church was probably built not on the ancient flooring, the soil had already buried the ground plan of the Forum. The three churches, and the three towers raised by Boniface VIII., as well as

Et in Alpibus acuebat eloquium, ideo illi cessit in præmium.
Non verbena vilis nec otiosa hedera honor capitis
Heliconius sed imago ære formata quo rari exempli
Viros seu in castris probatos seu optimos vatum
Antiquitas honorabat quod huic quoque cum
Augustissimis Roma Principibus
Theodosio et Placido Valentiniano Rerum Dominis
In Foro Ulpio detulerunt remunerantes in viro
Antiquæ nobilitatis novæ gloriæ vel industriam
Militarem vel carmen cujus præconio gloria
Triumphali crevit imperio.

Dedicata III. Cal. Aug. Conss. DD . NN.
Theodosio. XV. et Valentiniano. IIII.

the two hundred houses which were levelled with the ground by Paul III. in 1536, were on the modern level, and as their date must have gone back to the foundation of the churches, we may fairly pronounce that long previously to the twelfth century the base of the Quirinal had begun to assume its ancient form ere it had been cleared away by the subjects of Trajan.

Paul III. opened the base of the column[1], and in the time of Flaminius Vacca, an arch was dug from underground, perhaps in the pontificate of the same pope, and the flooring of the Forum was discovered, but immediately shut up again[2]. The late excavation enables us at last to tread the floor of ancient Rome. The replacing the fragments of the columns on their bases, and the judicious arrangement of the other marbles, has created an effect little inferior to the wonders of Pompej. The stranger must be much struck with the massive *Greek* dimensions of the fragments, when compared with the space in which so many buildings were raised[3]. Here we have a forum with its

[1] See note to Stanza lxxx. pag. 187.

[2] Memorie, ap. Montfaucon. Diar. Ital. p. 187.

[3] The giant texture of the Forum, the work of Apollodorus, struck Constantius dumb with astonishment. "Verum cum ad Trajani forum venisset singularem sub omni cœlo structuram, ut opinar etiam numinum assentione mira-

porticoes, and statues, and tribunals; a basilica, with a double internal portico on every side; a quadrangular court, or atrium, also adorned with enormous columns; two libraries; a triumphal arch; the great column and the portion of a temple, crowded into a space not so considerable as one of our smallest London squares. Whatever the earth covered of these magnificent structures is now exposed to view, and the remnants are sufficient to shew what must be the subterranean riches of Rome. We may find it difficult to account for there being so much or so little left. Buildings composed of columns were certain to be soon despoiled for the service of modern edifices: but the flooring and some of the many fragments are so perfect as to make the sudden burial of these parts of the city more probable than the gradual decay. The bronze statues had, however, been previously removed, if such an accident did overwhelm the Forum, for none were found.

bilem, hærebat attonitus, per giganteos contextus circumferens mentem nec relatu ineffabiles, nec rursus mortalibus appetendos." Amm. Marcel. lib. xvi. cap. x. p. 145. Cassiodorus calls it a miracle. It was doubtless altogether the most extraordinary object in Rome. "Trajani forum vel sub assiduitate videre miraculum est." Lib. vii. p. 113. edit. 1679.

The head of the colossal statue of Trajan was extant in the sixteenth century[1].

Stanza CXII.

Where is the rock of Triumph, the high place
Where Rome embraced her heroes? where the steep
Tarpeian?

Ruin and restoration have entirely effaced every vestige of the domicil of all the gods. The greatest uncertainty hangs over this hill. On which side stood the citadel, on which the great temple of the Capitol—and did the temple stand in the citadel[2]? Read every thing that has been written on the topography of a spot four hundred yards in length, and two hundred in breadth, and you will know nothing. Four temples, fifteen chapels (ædes), three altars, the great rock, a fortress, a library, an athenæum, an area covered with statues, the enrolment office, all these are to be arranged in the above space: and of these the last only can be with precision assigned to the double row of vaults corroded with salt, where the inscription of Catulus was discovered.

[1] Ciacconius de Colon. Trajan.

[2] Nardini, lib. v. cap. xiv. Donatus and he are at issue. The division of Rycquius into Arx, Capitolium, and Saxum, does not make his book a bit more clear.

The Athenæum perhaps may have been where the prisons and senator's palace now stand. The Tarpeian rock is divided, by the beggars who inhabit the cottages, between the two angles towards the Tyber; the highest is that called Monte Caprino, behind the gallery of the Conservators' palace, and the Palazzo Caffarelli; the most abrupt is the corner at the other end of the same Conservators' palace. Which of these two is the actual precipice whence the traitors were thrown, has not been yet resolved. The citadel may be believed to have extended along the whole side of the hill.

The great capitoline temple was placed by Nardini on the Aracœli; but doubts have again shaken this presumption, and the Feretrean Jupiter has put in his claim to that elevation. An earlier topographer mentions a church of *Saint Salvator in Maximis,* looking[1] towards the west, as occupying the site of the temple, and such a title, if existing now, might aid us in our conjectures. But no such church now remains.

The revolutions of Rome were first felt on this hill. The Sabines, the Gauls, the republicans, the imperialists, the citizens of papal

[1] Fabricius—"in ea Capitolii parte quæ occasum versus forum Holitorium respicit." Descrip. urb. Roma, cap. ix. That is, on the side exactly contrary to Aracœli.

Rome, have all contended for dominion on the same narrow spot. After the repairs of Domitian[1] it appears that the citadel was lost in a mass of golden-roofed fanes, and the word *capitol* seems to have been synonimous with the temple[2]. From that time the triumphs and studies of peace were celebrated and pursued amidst the trophies of victory. Poets were crowned with *oaken* wreaths[3], libraries were collected, schools opened, and professors taught rhetoric, from the reign of Hadrian to that of Theodosius the Younger. It is possible that part of the establishment mentioned in a law published by Valentinian III. and Theodosius II. may refer to Constantinople[4]. There were, however, public schools in the Capitol. Three Latin rhetoricians, five Greek sophists, ten Latin and ten Greek grammarians, formed a respectable university.

The change of religion bedimmed the glory of the Domitian Capitol, but did not destroy the structures, as Winkelmann heedlessly sup-

[1] The gilding alone cost 12,000 talents, above two millions and a half sterling. See note 45 to cap. xvi. Decline and Fall, tom. ii. p. 413. oct.

[2] "Auratum squalet Capitolium." Hieron. in loco cit. ap. Note to Stanza lxxx.

[3] Decline and Fall, cap. lxx. notes 10, 11. tom. xii. p. 327.

[4] Tiraboschi, Storia della Lett. Ital. tom. ii. lib. iv. p. 387.

posed[1]. The first despoilment is, however, to be attributed to the piety or rapacity of Stilicho. Genzeric is the next recorded plunderer; but Theodoric does not appear to have missed the gilding of the doors, or the tiles of the half uncovered roof of the great temple, or the chain of the goddess Rhea. In his time "the ascent of the *High Capitols* furnished a sight surpassing all that the human imagination could conceive[2]." How long these wonders were spared is unknown. It is probable that the robbery of the emperor Constans extended to the ornaments of the capitoline temples; but an antiquary of great note has thought himself able to discover the temple of Jupiter as late as the eighth or ninth century[3].

The hill does not reappear for ages, but seems to have been put to its ancient use, if it be true that the antipope, John, was thrown from the

[1] Storia della arti, &c. lib. xii. cap. iii. tom. ii. p. 419. note a. He went solely on the words of Saint Jerome, (quoted in note to Stanza lxxx.) on which Baronius had observed long before. "Verum non sic quidem concidisse affirmat Capitolini Jovis templum, quod dirutum hoc anno fuerit, sed quod ornamentis tantum modo expoliatum." Annal. Eccles. ad an. 389. tom. vi. p. 51. edit. Lucæ. 1740.

[2] "Capitolia celsa conscendere hoc est humana ingenia superata vidisse." Cassiod. Form. comitiv. formar. urbis, lib. vii. p. 113.

[3] Bianchini. See note to Stanza lxxx. p. 117.

Tarpeian rock at the end of the tenth century[1]. It was again a strong place, and the Corsi family had fortified it, or occupied its fortifications, in the course of the next hundred years. Their houses on the hill were thrown down by the emperor Henry IV. in 1084, and Guiscard soon afterwards levelled whatever remained of the fortress[2].

In 1118, however, it was still the place of assembly. The friends of pope Gelasius II. and the *Heads of the regions* are said to have mounted into the Capitol, to rescue him from Cencio Frangipane[3]. In that century the Capitol is crowned with churches, and in the possession of monks. Aracœli and St. John the Baptist, the monastery of the Benedictines, (who were settled there by the anti-pope Anaclete II. about

[1] Dissertazione sulle Rovine, p. 330. note A. There seems some doubt here. Muratori, ad an. 998. tom. v. p. 509. is much amused at a story of Peter Damian's, that the anti-pope had his eyes bored out, his ears cut off, and his tongue also cut off, and being then put on an ass, with his face to the tail, which he held in his hand, was paraded about Rome, and obliged to exclaim, "Such is the deserving punishment of him who endeavours to expel the pope of Rome from his seat." Damian tells this, with the exception of the tongue cut out; a Saxon annalist tells it with the exception of the exclamation; so that the joke is only in Muratori's confusion.

[2] See note to Stanza lxxx. p. 125.

[3] Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 389.

1130 or 1134), some gardens and mean houses and shops had succeeded to the pagan temples and to the feudal towers[1].

At the revolution of Arnold of Brescia (1143, 1144), in the same century, the Capitol was naturally selected for the restoration of the senate and the equestrian order. The hill became the seat of the revolutionary government, and we find Lucius II. in 1145, repulsed and killed with a stone, in an attempt to drive the people from their post[2]. The rebuilding of the capitoline citadel[3] was part of the proposed reform, and appears to have been carried, partially at least, into effect. From this period the Capitol resumed something of its importance, and, if those who saw it may be trusted, of its splendour. The people held a consultation there[4], before they attacked Frederic Barbarossa, in 1155.

It appears in the transactions of the subsequent centuries as the centre of the city. The duties and ceremonies of the recovered Senate, or Senator, were rendered more respectable, by

[1] Dissertazione, &c. p. 357, 358.

[2] Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 480.

[3] "Andava costui (Arnold of Brescia) predicando che si dovea riffabbricare il campidoglio." Annali d'Italia, tom. vi. p. 481.

[4] Annali, &c. tom. vi. p. 517.

being performed on the site of ancient dominion, and whilst the tomb of Hadrian was regarded with jealousy and affright, the tenant of the Capitol was looked upon as the lawful master of Rome. Here Rienzi planted the standard of the good estate; here Petrarch was crowned. The popular assemblies were convoked on this hill. The bell of the great tower was the signal of alarm, and was thought to watch over the new liberties of the Romans. The tolling is often heard in the night of those unhappy ages.

The importance of this station was fatal to the new citadel, which, after being frequently assaulted and taken in the quarrels of the barons, and the people, and the popes, seems to have lost all appearance of a fortress in the beginning of the fifteenth century. But the people were still summoned to the hill in the tumults which followed the death of King Ladislaus[1], in 1414; and a house for the tribunals of the Senator and his Conservators was built upon the ancient enrollment office of Catulus. Hear what was then the condition of the hill from a Roman, who, after describing its ancient glories, exclaims, "*But now, besides the brick house built for the use of the senator and his as-*

[1] Vendettini. Serie cronologica, &c. p. 75, 76.

sessors by Boniface IX., *and raised upon ruins, and such as an old Roman citizen of moderate fortune would have despised; besides the church of Aracœli, belonging to the brothers of the blessed Francis, constructed on the foundation of the temple of the Feretrian Jupiter, there is* nothing *to be seen on this Capitoline, or Tarpeian mountain, adorned once with so many noble edifices*[1]." In this picture of desolation may be inserted the fragments of marble recorded by Poggio, and the cottages which served for the shops of the artisans who frequented the Wednesday market held there, until transferred, in 1477, to the Piazza Navona[2].

The present state of the Capitol dates from the pontificate of Paul III. On the establishment of the papal power the castle of St. An-

[1] "Nunc vero præter lateritiam domum a Bonifacio IX. ruinis superædificatam qualem mediocris olim fastidissit Romanus civis usibus senatoris et causidicorum deputatam: præter Aræcœli fratrum beati Franc. ecclesiam in Feretrii Jovis templi fundamentis extructam, nihil habet is Capitolinus Tarpeiusve mons tantis olim ædificiis exornatus." Flav. Blond. Rom. Inst. lib. i. fo. 10. edit. 1527.

[2] "Eodem anno et mense essendosi più volte ordinato lo consiglio nel Palazzo de' Conservatori, che si dovesse fare lo mercato di Mercordi nella Piazza di Nagoni, *tamdem* lo mercato fu cominciato alli tredici dio Settembre dello detto anno (1477)." Steph. Infess. Diar. Rom. ap. Script. Rer. Ital. tom. iii. par. ii. p. 1146.

gelo was to be the only fortress, and the genius of Michael Angelo was employed to make the ancient citadel not only accessible but inviting. The broad and easy ascent, the façade and steps of the senatorial palace, the lateral edifices, have accomplished this object; but they accord ill with our preconceptions of the Roman Capitol. It should, however, be recollected, that although the area may have been partially levelled, the principal eminence is probably as high as that of the ancient hill. The tops of the buildings below were on a level with the base of the Capitoline structures in the reign of Vitellius, and the ascent was by a hundred steps[1], which could hardly rise higher than the 124 steps of the church of Aracœli. Calpurnius, in his seventh eclogue, says, that the top of the Coliseum towered above the Tarpeian rock. We can account for that rock appearing less terrific than might be expected; since a large piece of it, as big as a house of ample magnitude[2], fell down in the reign of Eugenius IV. The Cafarelli pa-

[1] "Scandentes per conjuncta ædificia: quæ ut in multa pace, in altum edita, solum Capitolii æquabant." Taciti. Hist. lib. iii. cap. lxii. "Et qua Tarpeja rupes centum gradibus aditur." Ibid.

[2] "Rupis Tarpeiæ, cujus pars maxima domus amplæ magnitudinis æquiparanda proximis diebus collapsa est." Flav. Blond. ibid. lib. ii. fol. 22.

lace and other edifices conceal the form of the summit itself.

Aracœli, whether on the site of the great temple or not, preserves the post which it occupied eight centuries ago. The Benedictines made way for the Franciscans in 1252, and popes and cardinals have been ambitious to contribute to the dignity of the substitute. The corporation, calling itself the Roman People[1], affected to emulate, in behalf of this church, the splendours of Catulus and Domitian, and gilded the whole interior roof, in gratitude for the victory obtained over the Turks in 1571. On the return of Marc Anthony Colonna from the victory of Lepanto, on the 16th of December in that year, he was received in triumph in the Capitol, and Aracœli was the new temple which served, instead of the Jove, Best and Greatest, to receive the vows of the Christian conqueror. The religious community amounted to 400, when the French dispersed them, and reduced their treasures to the base of the altar, which Augustus Cæsar erected to the First-born of God, and to the picture of the Virgin painted by St. Luke[2]. The restored remnant is only a hundred.

[1] Venuti descrizione, &c. di Rom. Mod. tom. ii. p. 341. edit. 1766.

[2] Venuti, (ibid,) has the grace to say, "un altare che pretendesi eretto da Augusto, col titolo *d'ara Primogeniti Dei.*"

The Monte Caprino, behind the Conservators' palace, is choked up by dirty cottages, through one of which you are led to look over one of the Tarpeian precipices. The height of the hill on the side of the Forum is rendered more imposing by the clearing away of the soil, which rose to the base of the senatorial palace, and formed a platform of dirt and rubbish, over which carriages are seen driving in the old views of Rome[1]. As, however, the stranger cannot have the satisfaction of climbing the Capitol by the ancient triumphal road, whose exact position has not been ascertained, he should pay his first visit on the other side, by the modern approach, where the colossal figures and the trophies of Trajan in front, and the Equestrian Aurelius rising before him as he mounts, have an air of ancient grandeur suitable to the sensations inspired by the genius of the place.

Stanza CXII.

The Forum, where the immortal accents glow,
And still the eloquent air breathes—burns with Cicero.

The reader may recollect a fine passage in Middleton's letter from Rome: "For my own part, as oft as I have been rambling about in

[1] See—Descriptio faciei variorum locorum quam prospectum vocant urbis Romæ. Fifteen engravings by Livinus Cruylius, prefixed to the fourth volume of Grævius.

the very *rostra of old Rome*, or in that *temple of Concord* where Tully assembled the senate in Catiline's conspiracy; I could not help fancying myself much more sensible of the force of his eloquence, whilst the impression of the place served to warm my imagination to a degree almost equal to that of his *old audience*."

The author of the Free Enquiry was no enthusiast, even in the cause of his favourite Cicero, and the emotions which he confesses himself to have felt will be assuredly partaken by any one imbued with a moderate respect for the wisest and best man of all antiquity. Every site and relic that can remind us of him must be regarded with that veneration with which he himself contemplated the porticoes and seats of the Athenian philosophers: and we treasure up the little dies of the pavement which lie scattered on the Formian shore, and may possibly have been trodden by the saviour of his country, with an affectionate regard scarcely inspired by the masterpieces of ancient art[1].

There is certainly no delight comparable with that derived from the sight of objects connected with the writings and actions of those, who, according to the panegyric of Dryden,

" Better lived than we, though less they knew—"

and how fully such a delight is enjoyed at Rome

[1] Cicero is the hero of Mola di Gaeta: a tomb, a villa, &c. are shewn by the antiquaries of the inn at that town.

may be understood by the most ignorant, and is experienced by the most indifferent observer. The fear of ridicule, the vice of the age, is, in this instance, insufficient to check the honest indistinct admiration, which, it may be some consolation for the timid to learn from competent authority, is not the sign of folly, but of superior sense, and is the sole origin of wisdom[1]. The memory of the great orator was preserved at Rome even in the ages of ignorance. In the twelfth century an ancient structure was known by the name of the Temple of Cicero. He had not a temple raised to him, but no man that ever lived was so deserving of one[2].

We must be content with the site, for we cannot trust much to the objects of the Roman Forum. It will have been seen that when Middleton was at Rome the eight columns under the Capitol with the inscription "*Senatus Populusque Romanus incendio consumptum restituit,*" were

[1] Μάλα γὰρ φιλοσόφου τοῦτο τὸ πάθος, τὸ θαυμάζειν, οὐ γὰρ ἄλλη ἀρχὴ φιλοσοφίας ἢ αὕτη. Platon. Theœteti. dialog. oper. tom. i. p. 155. The reader may remark the use the eloquent Winkelmann has made of this authority. Storia delle arti, &c. lib. v. cap. vi. tom. i. p. 393.

[2] Benedict, in his Ordo Romanus, says, "Mane dicit missam ad sanctam Anastasiam, qua finita descendit cum processione per viam juxta porticum Gallatorum ante templum Sybillæ et inter templum Ciceronis et porticum Cimorum." Ap. Mabillon. Mus. Ital. tom. ii. p. 125. num. 16. See—note to Stanza lxxx. p. 131.

usually supposed those of the Ciceronian Temple of Concord. In fact they had gone by that name in the fifteenth century, when seen by Poggio, who witnessed the destruction of the cell and part of the portico[1]. The author of the Ordo Romanus, in the twelfth century, places it near the Arch of Severus[2], a position which seems to accord with that given to the Temple of Concord by Dion Cassius[3] and by Servius[4], the first of whom says it was near the prisons, and the second near the Temple of Saturn on the Clivus Capitolinus. Plutarch in his life of Camillus mentions that it looked towards the Forum. An inscription found near

[1] "Romani postmodum ædem totam et porticus partem disjectis columnis sunt demoliti." De Variet. Fortunæ ap. Sallengre, tom. i. p. 501.

[2] "Descendit ante privatam Mamertini; intrat sub arcu triumphali inter templum fatale et templum Concordiæ." Ordo Roman. Auct. Benedict. ap. Mab. ib. p. 143. num. 51. The author of the "De mirabilibus Romæ" also says, "Templum Concordiæ juxta Capitolium, ante quod arcus triumphalis." Ap. Montfaucon Diar. Italic. cap. xx.

[3] Hist. Rom. lib. lviii. cap. ii. tom. ii. p. 885. Near the prison, he says, that is the *Mamertine*, ἀλλ' ἀυθημερὸν ἡ γερουσια πλησίον τοῦ οἰκήματος ἐν τῷ Ὁμονοείῳ, &c. vol. ii. p. 885. edit. Hamb.

[4] "Templum Saturni, quod est ante Clivum Capitolinum, juxta Concordiæ templum." Ad Æneid. lib. ii. ver. 116.

the ruins, as Marlianus[1] and Faunus[2] attest, and transferred afterwards to the Lateran, records that the Temple of Concord having fallen from old age was restored by the Senate and the Roman people in the time of Constantine. Donatus[3] was positive of the authentic claims of the eight columns. The first to establish a doubt was Nardini[4], and his opinion prevailed with Winkelmann[5] and with Winkelmann's editor[6], who, however, was converted before he had finished his labours, and to get rid of the difficulty respecting the two inscriptions, (the one in the Lateran and the other now on the frieze) supposes that they both may have been affixed to the Porch, and that the restoration was made, *first* under Constantine, and *afterwards* perhaps at the time that the emperor Eugenius encouraged the Pagan worship.

[1] Marlian. Topog. Urb. Rom. cap. x. lib. ii. only says "Inventus est autem lapis," without saying where.

[2] Faunus, lib. ii. cap. x. de Antiq. Urb. Rom. "In marmore præterea quodam aliquando in ruinis reperto." Is the Abate Fea justified from this in saying "Che vi fu trovata per testimonianza del Marliano e di Lucio Fauno?" Dissertazione, &c. p. 299. See—note to Stanza lxxx. p. 93. where this inscription is given.

[3] Lib. ii. cap. xiv.

[4] Lib. v. cap. vi.

[5] Storia delle arti, &c. lib. xii. cap. xiii. tom. ii. p. 413.

[6] Dissertazione, &c. tom. iii. p. 299. ibid.

The fall and the fire and the modern Romans have left but little of the temple where Cicero assembled the senate, supposing these to be the ruins of that temple; but it is something to hope that we tread the site and may touch a fragment of the Porch which was guarded by the equestrian patriots who escorted the consul and menaced Cæsar and the friends of the conspirators with their swords[1]. If this, however, was the Temple of Concord, it is not easy to understand why such a position should have been thought peculiarly secure. It does not certainly correspond with the usual incorrect notion that the temple was in the Capitol. The ruins can hardly be said even to be on the Capitoline ascent, which is supposed by some to be included in the Capitol itself[2].

The doubts respecting the other three columns are of an earlier date than those concerning the Temple of Concord. Fulvius Ur-

[1] Philip. x. "Equites Romani qui frequentissimi in gradibus Concordiæ steterant," &c.

[2] Varro places the temple between the Capitol and the Forum. Festus also, (in voc. Senatula) "inter Capitolium et Forum." See—Marlian. in loc. citat. and Nardini; also P. Victor, "Unum (Senaculum) ubi nunc est ædes Concordiæ, ubi magistratus cum Senioribus deliberant," de regionibus urbis. Ap. Grævv. tom. iii. p. xi.

sinus considered the name of Jupiter Tonans a rash conjecture when applied to any certain position in the Capitol, and particularly near the modern prisons[1]; but the regionary Victor finds that temple in the Capitoline declivity[2], which Suetonius had placed in the Capitol. It is in order to reconcile these contending notices that the dilation of the Capitol has been adopted by the antiquaries[3]. The letters left on the frieze, ESTITVER[4], correspond with the Lateran inscription thought to belong to the other temple, yet nothing has been gained by the coincidence.

The late excavations have not cleared the doubts which obscure these superb remains: but the neighbouring column of Phocas can no longer be part of the temple of Jupiter Custos, or the Græcostasis, or the bridge of Caligula. It must appear strange that the simple expedient of digging to the base to look for an inscription was delayed until 1813, on purpose, as it were,

[1] Marlian. Ibid. lib. ii. cap. iii. note 3.

[2] "Ædes Jovis Tonantis in Clivo Capitolii, dedicata ab Augusto." De region. urb. Regio viii. in loc. cit. p. 105.

[3] Donatus, lib. ii. cap. xi.

[4] Mr. Eustace, who appears never to have seen any thing as it is, tells us that RESTITVTVM is read on the ruins, and accounts for it. He "modo suo" saw no difficulties. Classical Tour, chap. x. p. 370. third edit.

to give scope to further conjecture[1]. It seems that some struggle was made to believe it dedicated to the emperor Maurice, the name of the fallen tyrant being carefully erased.

The affection of Gregory the Great, who then exercised a powerful influence over the Romans, towards *his Piety* the emperor Phocas, is well known to have been as great as that of the exarch Smaragdus in whose name the column was erected: and indeed that murderer has found a defender even in modern times[2]. The

[1] *opt*IMO CLEMENTIS. *felicissim*OQUE
PRINCIPI DOMINO *n. focae imperator*I
PERPETUO A DO CORONATO TRIVMPHATORI
SEMPER AVGVSTO
SMARAGDVS EX PRAEPOS SACRI PALATII
AC PATRICIVS ET EXARCHVS ITALIAE
DEVOTVS EIVS CLEMENTIAE
PRO INNVMERABILIBVS PIETATIS EIVS
BENEFICIIS ET PRO QVi*e*TE
PROCVRATA ITAL. AC CONSER*vat*A LIBERTATE
HANC ST*atvam. pieta*TIS EIVS.
AVRI SPLEND*ore micant*EM. HVIC
SVBLIMI COLV*m*N*ae ad* PERENNEM.
IPSIVS GLORIAM IMPOSVIT AC DEDICAVIT
DIE PRIMA MENSIS AVGVSTI INDICT. VND.
PC PIETATIS EIVS ANNO QVINTO.

See—Lettera sopra la colonna dell' Imperatore Foca. scritta da Filippo Aurelio Visconti. Roma. 1813. p. 10.

[2] Two Dutchmen sat down to protect and attack this worthy character. Ant. de Stoppelaar, oratio pro Phoca Imperatore, Amstel. 1732. and Simon Van den Brink. Orat. in Phocam Imperatorem. Amstel. 1732. Mr. Gibbon, tom.

gilded statue representing a hideous monster, and such as the decayed arts could then furnish, the style and even the letters of the inscription, the shattered repaired column, transferred from some other structure and defaced by rude carving, must have forcibly bespoken the degradation of the Forum and of the Roman race.

The local sanctity of the Roman Forum is somewhat impaired by the doubts which obscure the greater part of the conspicuous remains in this quarter. The site of the Forum itself, at least the exact position of it, is not quite determinately known. Some antiquaries previous to Panvinius thought it to be near the temple supposed that of Pallas in what is now called the Forum of Nerva[1]. Fulvius laid it down between the Capitoline and Palatine hills[2]. Marlianus extended it as far as the Arch of Titus, and Baronius lengthened it to St. Nicholas *in Carcere*[3]. Donatus believed in the more restricted sense[4], and he is followed by Nardini. Some idea may be formed of the size from that of the Forum of

viii. oct. cap. xlvi. p. 212, overlooked or despised these authors, who were awakened from their repose by the Abate Cancellieri, the friend of Visconti. Lettera. Ibid. p. 10.

[1] Nardini, lib. iii. cap. xiii.

[2] Ibid. lib. v. cap. ii.

[3] Ibid. ibid. ibid.

[4] Donat. lib. ii. cap. xvi. cap. xix.

Trajan, which was probably the larger of the two. When Constantius visited Rome it was regarded as a venerable remnant of former power[1]. The destruction of the monuments and the desolation of the site must date at least as early as the fire of Guiscard.

The name of the Roman Forum seems to have been obliterated in the earliest times, and when it reappears the modern denomination by a singular coincidence shows that time had accomplished the repented vow of Totila[2]. The Forum was the Cow-field in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and the sacred precincts are usually known by no other name to this day. The accretion of soil is so great in the *Campo Vaccino*, that the excavations to the ancient level have thrown up heaps of earth, the disposal of which has become a matter of difficulty. The dissection has not yet led to a correct anatomy of the ancient structure. Despairing of any discoveries at the foot of the three columns, (the

[1] "Perspectissimum priscæ potentiæ forum obstupuit." Amm. Marcell. lib. xvi. cap. 10. p. 143.

[2] Totila said he would make Rome a *sheep-walk*, μηλόβοτον. The coincidence would be more striking, if, as the Latin translation interprets it, and as Mr. Gibbon has, apparently, copied from that translation, the Gothic king had used the words "in gregum pascua," a "pasture for cattle." See Decline and Fall, cap. xliii. tom. vii. at p. 369.

pretended Comitium), the Abate Fea was directing the labours of the convicts in the summer of 1817, to ascertain the actual direction by which the triumphal way ascended the Capitoline hill. The difficulty of squeezing the twenty elephants and the four stags abreast of Aurelian's car, into the space between the Arch of Severus and the supposed Temple of Concord, was not, however, likely to be surmounted by any discoveries beneath the soil[1]. It does not seem that any flooring similar to that of the Forum of Trajan will be found in this quarter: nor have the labours at the base of the three columns decided whether they are still to be the Comitium, or be restored to their former tenants, Castor and Pollux, or to Jupiter Stator[2]. They have, however, added two or three fragments to the Fasti, the original mass

[1] Vopisc. in Vit. Aurel. Hist. Aug. p. 210, edit. 1519; or under the arch would be equally difficult.

[2] Nardini, lib. v. cap. iii. is positive for the Comitium; after which we may be amused with the following opinions. "Quoique il y ait des antiquaires qui croient que les trois superbes colonnes isolées que l'on voit dans le Forum, &c. et l'opinion la plus commune est qu'elles sont un reste *du Portique du temple de Jupiter Stator*." Vasi. Itinéraire de Rome, 1816, tom. i. p. 78. "Ma che *sicuramente* sono avanzi del tempio di *Castore et Polluce*." Itinerario di Roma, &c. opera dell' Antiquario Andrea Manazzale, Roma, 1817, tom. i. p. 44. Mr. Forsyth has hit these two antiquaries, "lacquey de places in print."

of which was discovered at the opposite church of Santa Maria Liberatrice.

Her Grace the Duchess of Devonshire has had as little success at the foundation of the column of Phocas, but her enterprising liberality is not the less to be praised and imitated[1]. The contiguous sacred-way is a fine field of glory, and may be called virgin soil. From the church of St. Martina *in tribus Foris* to the corner of the Carinæ, there is not an object that has not been disputed, and that may not again become the subject of controversy. Nardini[2] thought the church of Saint Hadrian might be the temple dedicated by Antoninus to Hadrian, a scandalous but probable conjecture; just as the neighbouring S. Martina[3] is more likely to have been formerly devoted to Mars than to the "*Secretarium Senatus*," a name given to it on account of an inscription found near it, and

[1] The view of the Forum in Paul V.'s time gives a mass of brick work, called Rostra Vetera et Nova, near the Palatine; some arched ruins, called Templum Libertatis, near the Comitium; then a single arch and two steps, like a sentry-box, Templum Deorem Penatum; and, behind these, the Curtian Lake, with four arches, partly filled up, called curia nova ad Septentrionem vergens.

[2] Lib. v. cap. 8.

[3] It is called *in tribus foris*, from the contiguity of the Roman, Augustan, and Julian forums, a proof of its high antiquity. These names of churches are the great help in adjusting topography.

copied by Gruter. The church of St. Hadrian is the Temple of Saturn in one guide book, and the Basilica of Paulus Emilius in another[1].

Next comes the church of St. Cosmas and Damianus, which was once set down to Castor and Pollux, then to the goddess Rome, afterwards to Romulus and Remus, then to Romulus alone, then to Remus alone[2]. The round vestibule is ancient, as are the bronze doors, although they did not originally belong to this structure, but were added by Pope Hadrian I. together with the porphyry columns. Even the modern objects change in Rome: for the famous picture in this church of the Mother of God[3], which said to Saint Gregory, "*Gregorie quare me non salutasti?*" is become God the Father, with a globe in his hand, and two fingers held up in papal benediction.

The two half-buried Cipolline columns which succeed in this line, are modestly called *Remains of some ancient edifice.* The *learned* Vasi remarks, that they stand on their ancient base, and

[1] The same Vasi and Manazzale.

[2] Nardini, lib. iii. cap. iii.—Fabric. Descrip. Rom. cap. ix. —Venuti Roma Moderna, rione x. tom. ii. p. 354.—Donatus, lib. iii. cap. iv. He thinks the round temple might have belonged to one, and the rectangular one behind to another.

[3] "They shew us here an image of the Virgin which reprimanded Gregory the Great for passing by her too carelessly." Letter from Rome.

that, therefore, when an excavation was made to the foot of them, in 1735, the ground plan of the sacred way was discovered.

The inscription, DIVO ANTONINO ET DIVAE FAVSTINAE, on the portico of S. Laurence *in Miranda*, would appear decisive: the antiquaries, however, are cautious to remark that there were two Antonines, and two Faustinas.

The three vaults of the Temple of Peace would certainly seem part of that structure which astonished Hormisdas[1], and which Herodian[2] calls the greatest and most beautiful work in the whole city. Even Nardini[3] has no doubts here. But the modern antiquaries are determined to dispute about what part of the temple these huge vaults may be said to represent; a treasury, a Pinacotheca, perhaps a bath, or any other building of the Forum of Peace. The great excavations in 1812 discovered immense masses of marble, but nothing to assist conjecture.

This part of Rome must have been abandoned

[1] Amm. Marcell. lib. xvi. cap. x. in loc. cit. *forumque pacis.*

[2] Herodian, lib. i. πᾶν τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος κατεφλέχθη, μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον γενόμενον τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔργων. p. 58. edit. Basil. The fire by lightning happened in the reign of Commodus.

[3] Lib. iii. cap. xii.

for many centuries, in order to form the accretion of soil at the back of these vaults, which slopes into an embankment of hanging gardens. Procopius talks of the Temple of Peace as being shattered with lightning and unrepaired. The ruins have supported modern buildings, of which fragments of towers still remain. In addition to the above-mentioned vestiges of the old city, the topographer may amuse himself with adjusting the many other structures which were crowded into the Sacred way[1].

Stanza CXIV.

Then turn we to her latest tribune's name,
From her ten thousand tyrants turn to thee.

For a sketch of these tyrants, and for the character and exploits of Rienzi, the reader is referred to the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire[2]. Those who have given us a portrait of the Romans of the dark ages, have represented them as uniting in their persons all the vices that can degrade the human character: but, in spite of the invectives of Liutprand

[1] See Nardini, lib. iii cap. xii.

[2] Cap. xlix. lxix. lxx.

[3] Liutprand was told, at the court of Nichephorus Phocas, that he was not a Roman, although he came from the pretended Roman Emperors, the Othos and Adelheid, but only a Lom-

and Saint Bernard[1], those vices, with the exception of such as they shared with their barbarous cotemporaries, seem reducible to their ancient reproach, that they could not bear complete servitude, nor perfect freedom[2]. The bar-

bard. It was on that occasion that the bishop of Cremona became violent, and attacked the Romans with that sentence which is extracted into the Decline and Fall, cap. xlix. note 44. If, however, the reader will consult the original, *Liutprandi legatio ad Nichephorum Phocam*, ap. Scrip. Rer. Ital. tom. ii. p. 479 to 489, he will see that the insolence of the Greek Emperor, who said the Lombards were too big-bellied to fight, accusing them of "*gastrimargia*," was the cause of the ambassador's abuse, which was directed, perhaps, rather more against the Byzantines, who had exclusively assumed the name of Romans, than against the inhabitants of Rome. Liutprand, indeed, shews he did not allude to the Roman citizens of his day *particularly*, though he does talk of their subjection to harlots, the Theodoras and Marozia, for he begins his attack with Romulus. "Romulum fratricidam, ex quo et Romani dicti sunt, porniogenitum, hoc est ex adulterio natum chronographiâ innotuit." Ibid. p. 481. Nichephorus mounted the throne in 963, and to believe Liutprand and S. Bernard strictly, we should think that the Romans continued to be the same abandoned race for two centuries; if so, the Saxon Emperors had not improved them. Liutprand, it is true, might fairly say, that the descendants of Romulus had forfeited their title of lords of the world, *kosmocratores*.

[1] Decline and Fall, cap. lxix. p. 270. vol. xii. oct. See also Muratori Annali. ad an. 1152, tom. vi. p. 499.

[2] "Sed imperaturus es hominibus, quì nec totam servitutem pati possunt nec totam libertatem." Galba said this to Piso. Tacit. Hist. lib. i. cap. xvi.

barian blood which had been transfused into their veins was likely to irritate, rather than allay this impatience of control; and conceptions of original equality, to which the enslaved subjects of the Cæsars had long been strangers, might be imported by their union with the savages of the north. The ambassador of a despot, and a saint, might easily be disgusted with the thousand horrid forms which this tormenting feeling would assume, and which would betray itself in violence or perfidy, in arrogance or meanness, in proportion as they were able to shake away, or obliged to submit to, the yoke. Their conduct, from the first assumption of temporal power by the Popes, must seem absurd and contradictory, if it be not regarded as the consequence of a resolution to submit to no resident master whose *foreign* authority might enable him to employ a *foreign* force for their enslavement. The objection applied both to Popes and Emperors, and their history, if a few broken notices may so be called, is a perpetual struggle against both, sometimes united, and sometimes separated by a temporary alliance with the people themselves, formed for the same purpose of final enfranchisement.

We must not feel indignant at their ill-directed efforts, because they did not terminate in the independence obtained by the states of Tuscany

and Lombardy. Their city had the misfortune of being the metropolis of Christianity, in which it was for the interest of the sovereigns of Europe that a priest should reign; and, secondly, their too glorious name, and the pride of their Pontiffs, had tempted the ambition of every conqueror, with a crown which could be conferred nowhere but on the banks of the Tyber. Thus they had to contend with pretenders who could never die, and who failed not to unite their efforts when the Romans thought themselves strong enough to aspire to an independence of both. It was the endeavour of the people and nobles to deprive Leo III. of all temporal power, that made him apply to Charlemagne, and merge both the republic and the patricianate in the imperial title of the Frank[1].

John XII. invited Otho the Great to Rome, in 962, under pretext of assistance against Berenger and Adalbert, and restored the Western Empire, which had been vacant since the death of Berenger Augustus[2], in 924.

It was to assist Gregory V. that Otho III. marched to Rome;[3] and the protection of Benedict VIII. brought down[4] Henry II. in 1014.

[1] See—Annali d' Italia, ad an. 799, tom. iv. p. 431, 432.

[2] Annali ad an. 961, tom. v. p. 961. 399.

[3] Ibid. ad an. 996, tom. v. p. 504.

[4] Annali, tom. vi. p. 46.

The league between Adrian IV. and Frederic Barbarossa cost Arnold of Brescia his life, as the price of the Emperor's coronation[1].

As then the imperial and papal interests combined against the spirit of revolt, and called, in succession, Charlemagne, the Othos, the Henries, and the first of the Frederics, to Rome, so the annalists of either party have joined in the censure of every independent leader. The patrician Alberic, the son of Marozia, is handed down to us as a tyrant[2], yet he held the dominion of Rome for two and twenty years, successfully resisted the repeated sieges of the capital, and peaceably transmitted his authority to his son, a youth of seventeen years of age[3]. The Consul, or rather the *Cæsar*, Crescentius[4],

[1] Annali ad an. 1155, tom. vi. p. 516.

[2] "Terminò in quest' anno il corso di sua vita Alberico Patrizio o Principe o vogliam dire Tiranno di Romana." Annali ad an. 954, tom. v. p. 384.

[3] See note to Stanza LXXX. p. 120.

[4] Mr. Gibbon, cap. xlix. calls him the Brutus of the Republic, but, in fact, he affected the empire. The Marquis Maffei's gallery contained a medal with IMP. CÆS. AUGUST. P P CRESENTIUS, on one side, round the head of the prince, and on the reverse a man on horseback haranguing soldiers, with the legend *exercitus* S. C., below; and on the base, S. P. Q. R. similar to the allocutions on horseback of Hadrian, Posthumus, and others. The arts appear to have been still preserved even in those ages, if we may

is, in the same manner, declared "a bad man, a man blinded by ambition," whose just punishment "served to deter those who knew not how to obey Pope or Emperor[1]." If Muratori says this, what is to be expected from Baronius? Yet the Emperor Otho III., who murdered Crescentius, undertook a barefoot pilgrimage to Mount Garganus to expiate his treachery[2]. The Guelf and Ghibeline writers are alike unmerciful to popular leaders. The anti-popes of the people are *Volponi* with Muratori; those of the Emperors sometimes a little anti-canonical, but often legitimate: there is no depth deep enough for either in the Ecclesiastical Annals.

Arnold of Brescia[3] is also delivered over to

judge from this medal. Verona Illustrata. par. iii. p. 500. edit. 1732. Crescentius was put to death in May 998, and hanged, with twelve others, round the bastion of St. Angelo.

[1] "Un mal' uomo, un uomo acciecato dall' ambizione, convien dire che fosse Crescenzio Console di Roma." Annali, &c. tom. v. p. 504.

"Il che servì ad atterrir chiunque non sapeva allora ubbidire nè al Papa nè all' Imperatore." Ibid. p. 510.

[2] Annali ad an. 1001, tom. vi. p. 1, 2.

[3] "Porro circiter annum Christi MCXLII. Romanus Populus ab Arnaldi Brixiani heresiarchæ verbis seductis, rebellionem contra Petri successores justos urbis dominos primum instituit, rempublicam nempe atque Senatum prout antiquis temporibus fuerant restituere ausus." Antiq. Med. Ævi. tom. ii. p. 589.

posterity as an heresiarch whose rebellious doctrines justly condemned him to the flames of both worlds[1]. These doctrines, however, were not dispersed with his scattered ashes, but were concentred in that Capitol, and by that Senate, which he restored; and however the ignorance of the age may have misapplied his institutions, they served to retard, for three centuries, the confirmed establishment of religious despotism. The Romans were the last of all the people of Christendom who submitted to the Pope. The feudal wars of the city belonged to the times, and are not to be charged to the democratical spirit, but to the impotence of the laws.

Rienzi had the fortune to fall on better days and better tongues. With Petrarch for a poet[2], and a fellow citizen, rude, but a witness of his

[1] "Messo costui (Arnold) nelle forze del Prefetto di Roma fu impiccato e bruciato e le sue ceneri sparse nel Tevere, acciochè la stolida plebe non venerasse il corpo di questo infame." Muratori. Annal. ad an. 1155. tom. vi. p. 516.

[2] Petr. epistola hortatoria de capessenda libertate. Opp. p. 535. 540, and the 5th eclogue. Vir magnanime, vir fortissime, Junior Brute, are the titles he gives Rienzi. De Sade was not the first who supposed the *spirto gentil* of Petrarch to be addressed to the younger Stephen Colonna: and that eulogy has been also claimed for Giordano de' Sabelli; but the Italian editors have, for the most part, recognised the *gentle spirit* in Cola di Rienzi. [See Castelvetro's

exploits, for a biographer[1], his merits have been fairly balanced with his defects; and as those who suffered by his justice were the rebellious Barons, rather than the partizans either of the church or the empire, his half heroic, fantastic figure[2], has been delineated with unusual partiality. The facility with which he succeeded in his first designs, shows that the allure of liberty had lost none of its charms at Rome, and that the tyranny of the nobles was equally odious with that of the Emperor or the Pope.

The fall of this abortion of fortune was the fruit rather of his own intemperance than of the inconstancy of the Romans[3]. As the

edition, Venice, 1756, p. 132, et seq.] Our London editor has rejected the French hypothesis. Zotti, tom. i. p. 112. Mr. Gibbon [chap. lxix, ad fin. and chap. lxx. p. 588, 4to.] followed his favourite Abbé.

[1] Historiæ Romanæ fragmenta. Antiq. Med. Ævi. tom. iii. p. 399 to p. 480, and 509 to 546.

[2] "Costui era uomo fantastico; dall' un canto facea la figura d' eroe, dall' altro di pazzo." Annali ad an. 1347, tom. viii. p. 250.

[3] Giovanni Villani seems inclined to divide the disgrace between the tribune and the people.

"Nessuna signoria mondana dura
E la vana speranza t' ha scoperto
Il fine della fallace ventura."

Hist. Fiorentinæ, lib. xii. cap. civ. Script. Rer. Ital. tom. xiii. p. 982.

overthrower of the usurpation of the nobles, as the assertor of justice, as the punisher of violence, and the projector of a splendid system which was to restore the freedom of Rome and of Italy, he did indeed "redeem centuries of shame." When the republican aspired to perpetuate his own power, when the tribune imitated the fopperies of royalty[1], when the reformer declared himself the champion of superstition[2] and the church, he lost his distinctive character, and, like a more celebrated person-

[1] The account of the feast given by Rienzi in the Lateran palace, is a singular picture of the magnificence and luxury of those times, as well as of the vulgar profusion of the tribune. "Sweetmeats of various kinds; a great abundance of sturgeon, a delicate fish; pheasants, kids. Every one was allowed to pocket what he liked." "Confietti de divisate manere. Fonce abbonnantia de storione (lo pescie delicato); fasani, capretti. Chi bolea portare lo rifudio, se lo portava liberamente." Hist. Rom. Fragmenta, cap. xxvii. p. 453, ibid. Stephen Colonna told Rienzi that the decent garments of a plebeian were more becoming the tribune than those pompous robes which he affected. Ibid. cap. xxviii. Some original letters of Rienzi, never before published, are inserted at the end of these notices.

[2] Instead of the Holy Roman Empire, Rienzi called it the Holy Roman Republic in his title. "Nicola Severo e Clemente, de libertate, de pace, e de justitia Tribuno, anco de la Santa Romana Repiubbica Libberatore Illustre." It was in this spirit that his word of battle was *the Holy Ghost, Cavaliers!* "E ordinaò le battaglie, e fece li capitani delle vattaglie. E deo lo

age of our own times, left a convincing proof, that a revolution can be maintained only by the maxims, and even the very forms, by which it was at first ushered into life.

The modern Capitol retains two objects which recal the memory of Rienzi. The horse of Aurelius[1], called, formerly, the horse of Constantine, which stood before the Lateran, and from whose right nostril the tribune poured a stream of wine on the day of his ridiculous knighthood[2]; and the bronze table, usually called the *lex regia*, conferring the privileges of dominion on Vespasian, which Rienzi expounded to the

nome *Spirito Santo Cavalieri.*" Hist. Rom. Frag. cap. xxxii. ibid. When he came from Avignon, he came as senator of the Pope.

[1] "A stream of wine flowed from the nostrils of Constantine's brazen horse: no complaint, except of the scarcity of water, could be heard." Decline and Fall, cap. lxx. tom. xii. oct. p. 348. A trifling mistake in the masterly sketch of Rienzi's life. Wine flowed from the right, water from the left nostril. "In quella die continuamente de la matina nell' alva fi a nona, pe le nare de lo Cavallo de Costantino, che esse de vronzo pe canali de piommo ordenati jescio pe froscia ritta vino roscio, e pe froscia manca jescio acqua e cadea indificientemente ne la conca piena." Hist. Rom. Fragm. cap. xxvi. p. 451. loc. cit.

[2] "Vitiosa buffonia," is the title given to the ceremony by the anonymous author of the Fragments. Rienzi excuses it in a letter to his friend Raynald Orsini. See—the MS. at the end.

populace, and, by a strange distortion of meaning, cited as a proof of the majesty of their ancestors[1]. The inscription was once in the Lateran, and is now in the Capitoline Museum.

The horse was called the horse of Constantine, *by mistake*, in the time of Theodosius II. In the regionary of the eighth or ninth century, the *Caballus Constantini* is near the Temple of Concord, and was removed from the Forum to the Lateran in 1187, by Clement III. It was so much neglected when Sixtus IV. put it in a more conspicuous situation before the Lateran, that Flaminius Vacca, writing of it, says, it was found in a vineyard near the Scala Santa, which has been mistaken for a disinterment, but it was never underground. Paul III. in 1538, transferred it to the Capitol. But what Winkelmann says[2] of a nosegay given annually by the senator to the chapter of the Lateran as an acknowledgment of right, is not true. Michael Angelo

[1] Rienzi was not quite so ignorant as Mr. Gibbon has made him: he did not use the word *liberty*, but *majesty*. "Signori tanta era la majestate de lo popolo de Roma, che a lo imperatore dare l'autoritate." Ibid. cap. iii. Mr. Gibbon calls the table "*still* extant in the choir of the church of St. John Lateran." He evidently forgot, or did not know, that both this table and the horse were in the Capitol when he wrote. The author of the Fragments says that Rienzi was the only man in Rome who could read or interpret the table.

[2] Storia delle Arti, tom. ii. p. 395.

made the pedestal out of a piece of the frieze and architrave of the Arch of Trajan[1]. Winkelmann has also mistaken in saying the man was not on the horse in Rienzi's time.

The Conservator's palace exhibits vestiges of the reform of Arnold of Brescia, and of his re-established senate. In apartments contiguous to that which contains the old Fasti, the modern series of inglorious magistrates is ranged, in humble imitation of the venerable list of ancient conquerors and triumphs. The initials of the modern title are so given, that what must be read *Conservators* looks like Consuls. It does not seem to be known at what precise period the modern senate of Rome diminished from a council[2], which at one time amounted to fifty-six persons, to a single magistrate; nor does it appear, that after that reduction the government of the city was invariably trusted to one alone[3]. The senate, in the modern sense, was an office exercised by one or more persons, for a term which was at first annual; and we read of this senate long after the duties had been

[1] See Dissertazione sulle rovine, &c. p. 410, ad fin.

[2] See—Serie cronologica de' Senatori di Roma dal Conte Antonio Vendettini in Roma, 1778.

[3] "E primieramente vediamo dall' elenco medesimo che i Senatori ora erano più, ora un solo, e prima di questo tempo or uno or due." Vendett. loc. citat.

exercised by an individual[1]. Notwithstanding the re-establishment dates from 1143, the chronological series does not begin before the year 1220, with Parenzio Parenzi. The names for the next year will sound powerfully to our ears—

1221, HANNIBAL AND NAPOLEON.

Napoleon of the Orsi is a frequent name in the early fasti. The chief magistrate was assisted by three Assessors, to administer criminal and civil justice; but the next in dignity and power to *those* or to *him* who composed the senate, were the three Conservators; and in addition to these the same list contains the names of the Capo-Rioni, who are often enrolled with the Conservators. There were marshals also, of whom one is recorded, and Præfects, or Notaries of the præfecture. In an interregnum, or during the absence of the senators, the Conservators exercised the functions, unless they were entrusted to those who under various names of Reformers of the Roman republic—Chamberlains—Good men—Deputies of the people, supplied the place of the regular government, and were sometimes dependent on the *bene placitum* of the Pope, sometimes derived their authority from the people.

[1] His title was *Illustris* first, and then *Illustrissimus*, with the addition *Dei gratia*.

The law by which an alien alone could be chosen for senator, does not apply to those first on the list, who are specified as Romans, nor did it constantly obtain, in subsequent periods, until the reform of the statutes in 1580.

When Brancaleone was elected, in 1252, this was the usage, but in the next century the office was divided frequently between the Colonna and Orsini. Muratori[1] mentions, that the custom of choosing foreigners for magistrates, was introduced into Italy before the year 1180. The choice of foreign arbitrators in the controversies of states and princes, seems to have been the fashion of the thirteenth century. Thus the English referred to Philip of France. Thus the kings of France and Arragon, and other princes—the Scotch for instance—submitted their claims to the judgment of King Edward I.[2]

The ancient statutes have been traced back to the year 1364.

Every vestige of the popular government[3],

[1] Dissertazione sopra le antichità Ital. diss. xlvi. p. 67. tom. iii.

[2] See—Hume, Hist. of England, Edw. I. cap. xiii.

[3] For a short account of the statutes and government of Rome, see the Decline and Fall, cap. lxx. p. 380, tom. xii. oct. What has been said above, was inserted merely in explanation of the modern Fasti Consulares. The civil and criminal justice of Rome, previously to the late revolution, was esteemed, and with reason, the most iniquitous in Italy.

which those statutes were meant to preserve, has been gradually abolished; and the Senate and Roman people, after nearly seven centuries of feeble, dubious existence, are now at their last gasp. One of the operations of the Cardinal Gonsalvi's ministry has been to give an unity to the papal government, by depriving the Conservators of some feudal jurisdictions which they still held at Viterbo. The senatorial palace of the Capitol has probably seen the last tribunal of the expiring magistrates.

The pageant, however, remains. The three Conservators act certain parts in certain ceremonies: they stand on the second step of the papal throne, and they have a right to carry the sacramental vessels between the high altar and his holiness, on Easter Sunday. The Senator of Rome bears a still more conspicuous part in these scenes of humiliation. When the Pope pontificates, the Senator stands amidst a seated assembly, but stands at the right hand of the hierarch, on a level with the throne, and a step above the Conservators. His cloak of golden brocade, and his depending rolls of borrowed hair, suit well with the meek ministerial attitude of the gentleman-usher; but they are dwindled into nothing amidst the purple of the cardinals,

The Cardinal Gonsalvi has attempted some reforms, since the restoration of the Pope appeared likely to revive all the defects of the old government.

and the seven-fold robes of the holy father: even his patient resignation is obscured by the incense and awful bustle of that pious pantomime.

The half-starved porters of the Campidoglio make their boast to strangers, that their Senator is placed for life, and cannot be degraded from his office, even by the Pope himself. But the pontiffs have shewn their conviction of his impotence, by dispensing with the statute which enacted that no one but an alien could be chosen. His present Holiness did not think it expedient to nominate a relation, as Rezzonico had done, but gave the idle title to the young Patrizzi, the representative of a noble Siennese family transplanted to Rome.

The eloquent initials of the S. P. Q. R. are still to be seen multiplied on all the escutcheons and inscriptions of the modern city; and the same ambitious formula has been imitated by the little tributary towns of the pontifical state. We read, on the stuccoed gateway at Tivoli, of a modern "Senate, and Tiburtine People."

Stanza CXLV.

While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand.

"Quandiu stabit Colysæus, stabit Roma; quando cadet Colysæus, cadet et Roma; quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus." These words

are quoted by Mr. Gibbon [1] as a proof that t Coliseum was entire when seen by the Ang Saxon pilgrims at the end of the seventh or t beginning of the eighth century. At the sa time, as they extended their admiration to Ron which was then partially destroyed, it is not i possible that the amphitheatre may have been some degree dilapidated even in that early peri

The fire which, about the year 219, destroy the upper wooden works, in which, amon other conveniences, there were brothels [2], casioned the repairs of Heliogabalus a Alexander Severus and Gordian; and the f quency of such restorations may be conclud from the different forms and materials lat discovered in the excavations of the substr tures of the area. Mention is made of a f

[1] Cap. lxxi. tom. xii. oct. p. 419. One of the most turesque descriptions of the effect of the Coliseum is gi by Ammian, who calls it a solid mass of stone-work, to wh summit the human eye can scarcely reach. "Amphithe molem solidatam lapidis Tiburtini compage, ad cujus s mitatem ægre visio humana conscendit," lib. xvi. cap p. 145; a structure where there was sitting room for 87, spectators, besides place for more than 22,000 others, the first amphitheatre of the kind ever raised, for tha Statilius Taurus is not to be reckoned. Pompey's thea a *hollowed mountain*, was also the first theatre made of st The Romans in both these works rose at once to perfect the effect was instantly discovered to be insurpassable.

[2] Lampridius mentions this in his life of Caracalla.

under Decius[1]. It was certainly in all its glory in the reign of Probus, and the seven hundred wild beasts, and the six hundred gladiators which he exhibited at once, could not occupy a twelfth part of the arena. The number of wild beasts which might stand together in this arena has been calculated to be ten thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine[2], so that it may be no exaggeration to say that Titus showed the Roman people five thousand in one day[3], or that Probus, *unica missione*, exhibited four thousand ostriches, boars, deer, ibexes, wild sheep, and other graminivorous animals, amidst a forest which had been transplanted into the amphitheatre[4]. Perhaps it is not to be understood that they were slain at once[5].

The Coliseum was struck by lightning in the reign of Constantine, but repaired; for the laws for abolishing gladiatorial shows were not observed until the reign of Honorius[6]; and even after that period, men fought with wild beasts, which

[1] In the Eusebian Chronicle. See—Maffei. Verona. Illustrata. part iv. pp. 36, 37. edit. 1731.

[2] By T. B. Nolli. See—delle memorie sacre e profane dell' anfiteatro Flavio dal Canonico. Giovanni Marangoni. Rom. 1746. pp. 33, 34.

[3] "Atque uno die quinque millia omne genus ferarum." Sueton. in vit. Tit.

[4] Vopisc. in vit. Prob. p. 233. Hist. Aug. edit. 1519.

[5] Marangoni, ibid. p. 41.

[6] See note to Stanza CXLI. in the notes to Childe Harold.

seems to have been the original purpose of the amphitheatre, rather than the combats of gladiators[1]. The fighting and hunting continued at least until the end of Theodoric's reign, in 526, and the seats of the principal senators were jealously preserved[2]. Maffei had heard of an inscription mentioning a restoration by that monarch, but was not able to find such a record[3]. As there is no notice of his repairs, and as his admiration of it is particularly specified, the dilapidation of the structure could not have been begun either by Alaric or Genseric.

It is just possible that some of the holes which now disfigure the whole surface, may have been made by the extraction of the metals used for clamps, which we have remarked to have been a practice of the Romans even before the Gothic invasion[4]; but Montfaucon[5] is strangely mistaken in calling the Barbarians the sole and

[1] Verona Illustrata, part iv. pp. 2, 3. Maffei notices that Cassiodorus calls it *theatrum venatorium*. True: but gladiators had been abolished some time before, therefore the authority is not conclusive.

[2] Cassiod. Variar. epist. 42. lib. v., the bishop lamented the enormity of the sport; "actu detestabilis, certamen infelix," spectaculum tantum fabricis. Ibid. epist. 42. lib. iv.

[3] Verona Illust. ib. p. 37.

[4] See note to Stanza LXXX.

[5] Montf. diar. Ital. "Unam germanamque causam foraminum," p. 233. See note 50. Decline and Fall, tom. xii. p. 419.

sufficing cause of all these holes: no less is another writer deceived in saying they were all made by artisans. Joseph Maria Suarez, who has written expressly on this subject, actually proves nothing with all his seven causes, and has made a gross mistake in supposing *Volusian* had occupied a part of the amphitheatre as a strong hold in the reign of Theodoric[1]. It was a box at the shows he had seized, not a fortress[2]. The true account seems to be given by the editor of Winkelmann, who believes that the greater number of the holes were made for the extraction of the metals, and only a few, comparatively, for the insertion of the beams and staples necessary for forming chambers and divisions, when the ruin was made a place of defence, in the first instance, and afterwards, perhaps, a magazine of manufacturers[3]. The first plunder may have been begun in war, but was more the labour of peace, and was actually continued in the time of Theodoric[4]. The

[1] Jos. M. Suaresii de foraminib. lapid. *diatriba.* addressed to a Barberini in 1651. ap. Sallengre, tom. i. p. 318.

[2] "Hac crudeli surreptione captata turrem circi, atque locum amphitheatri illustris recordationis patris eorum detestabili ambitu a vestris suggerunt fascibus expeditum." Variar. lib. iv. epist. 42.

[3] Dissertazione sulle Rovine, pp. 277, 278.

[4] Var. Epist. lib. ii. epist. 7. lib. iii. epist. 31.

thieves worked in the night. The lead is still seen in some of the holes. The larger cavities are to be attributed to the other cause.

Totila is said to have exhibited the equestrian games of the Circus: but nothing is told of his reviving those of the amphitheatre. Justinian abolished the latter in every part of his dominion: and from that period, so Maffei thinks, the attacks of time and man began to be injurious[1]. The great mass of the external structure might, however, have been entire when it appeared to the pilgrims as durable as the world itself; but abandoned to neglect and exposed to the floods and earthquakes of the seventh century, much of the lower and more fragile part of the work must have been defaced, and it seems probable that some of the mass itself had fallen when it was occupied by the Frangipane family in the twelfth century or earlier[2]. Its decay would facilitate the conversion by the supply of fallen materials.

The author of the memoir on the amphitheatre[3]

[1] Verona Illust. ibid. p. 60. "Allora fu, che il grand' anfiteatro di Tito reso inutile cominciò a soffir gl' insulti e del tempo e degli uomini."

[2] Onufrius Panvinius in his MS memoirs *de gente Fregepanica* quoted by Marangoni, ibid. 49. thinks this occupation took place after the year 1000.

[3] Ibid. p. 50.

ascribes the ruin of the arcades towards the Cælian mount to Robert Guiscard: who, if he destroyed the structures between that mount and the Capitol[1], must necessarily have fallen upon the Coliseum. What is certain is, that for more than two centuries and a half the buildings dedicated to the amusement contributed to the distresses of Rome. Donatus, and after him Mr. Gibbon, have made a mistake in supposing that a manufactory of silk weavers was established there in the twelfth century. The Bandonarii or Banderarii of the Coliseum in 1192, noticed by a cotemporary writer[2], were the officers who carried the standards of their

[1] "Et majorem urbis partem Cœlium inter et Capitolium sitam evertit." These words of Leo Ostiensis (Ap. Baron. ad an. 1084) are quoted by Marangoni, but the Abate Fea, Dissert. p. 395. finding no certain memorial, hesitates.

[2] See—Ordo Romanus xii. auct. Cencio Camerario. ap. Mabill. Museum Italic. tom. ii. p. 195. num. 52. "Bandonarii Colosæi et Cacabarii, quando dominus Papa coronatur, in eundo et redeundo ipsum cum vexillis præcedunt, quasi etenim una schola est, et eadem die debent comedere cum eodem domino Papa." They were certain trained bands of the different quarters, as we see by this expression in Villani, cap. xiv. lib. vii. Itiner. Greg. X. "Currebant Banderarii Romani velut dementes tubis clangentibus." See also Ducange verb. *Banderarii*.—Marangoni. p. 49. The mistake of Donatus is at lib. iii. cap. vi., that of Gibbon at cap. lxxi. p. 419. oct. vol. xii.

school, and preceded the pope in his coronation. No such employment was exercised in the Coliseum, which was now become a regular fortress. Innocent II. took refuge there in 1130; and the Frangipani were shortly after expelled, but made themselves masters of it a second time. Alexander III. retreated thither from the Ghibeline faction in 1165.

In 1244 Henry and John Frangipane were obliged to cede the half of their intrenchment to the Annibaldi; but by the authority of Innocent IV. recovered entire possession in the course of the same year. The Annibaldi, however, succeeded in driving out their rivals; and held the Coliseum up to the year 1312, when they were compelled to yield it to the emperor Henry VII. In the year 1332 it was the property of the Senate and Roman people. This is the date of the bull-feast of which Ludovico Monaldesco has left an account[1] transcribed

[1] "Annali di Ludovico Monaldesco. ap. Script. Rer. Ital. tom. xii. p. 529, 542. A modester memorialist was never met with. This is all he says of himself: "I, Lewis of Bonconte Monaldesco, was born in Orvietto, and was brought up in the city of Rome where I lived. I was born in the year 1327 in the month of June, at the coming of the emperor Lewis; and now I will relate all the story of my times, for I lived in the world a hundred and fifteen years without any sickness except at my birth and death, and I died of old

into the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. The contrivance of such an exhibition has given rise to a persuasion that the amphitheatre was then entire; but the adaptation of a range of benches round the area would not be difficult even now; and indeed it will be observed, it was resolved to renew the bull-fights even at the end of the seventeenth century.

It is generally agreed that the porticoes on the south side were the first to give way: and those who assign the earliest date to the destruction of the exterior range of arcades in this quarter and towards the Arch of Constantine, do not descend lower than the famous earthquake in 1349. It is certain that in the year 1381 a *third part* of the building and a jurisdiction over the whole was granted by the Senate and Roman people to the religious society of Sancta Sanctorum, who probably formed their hospital in the higher arches blocked up by the Frangipani, of whose walls traces are yet apparent towards the Lateran. Their privileges continued until the year 1510, and their property was recognized in the beginning of the seven-

age, having been bed-ridden a twelvemonth. Sometimes I went to Orvietto to see my relations." The narration of his own death is found in all the MSS. and judiciously inserted by Muratori, who bears testimony to the authenticity of this posthumous writer.

teenth century[1]. The arms of the S. P. Q. R. and of the above company, namely, our Saviour on an altar between two candlesticks, are still seen on the outside of the arcades towards the church of St. Gregory and the Arch of Constantine, which must, therefore, have been, as they are now, the external range; but which, before the outer circles had fallen down, were, in fact, the internal arches of the first corridore. This proof seems decisive, that as early at least as the middle of the fourteenth century, the exterior circumference had ceased to be "entire and inviolate," so that Mr. Gibbon, by following, or rather by divining the mysterious Montfaucon, has made a mistake of two hundred years in assigning that state of preservation even as low down as the middle of the sixteenth century[2].

[1] Marangoni, ibid. p. 55. et seq. They seem to have made a claim so late as 1714, which was not attended to. Ibid. p. 72.

[2] "*The inside was damaged; but in the middle of the sixteenth century, an era of taste and learning, the exterior circumference of* 1612 *feet was still entire and inviolate, a triple elevation of fourscore arches which rose to the height of* 108 *feet. Of the present ruin, the nephews of Paul III. are the guilty agents:*" Decline and Fall, cap. lxxi. p. 424. and note 63. *After measuring the priscus amphitheatri gyrus, Montfaucon, p.* 142, *only adds that it was entire under Paul III. Tacendo clamat. Muratori, Annali d' Italia, tom. xiv. p.* 371, *more freely reports the guilt of the Farnese pope and the indignation of the Roman people.* Look into Mu-

A letter in the Vatican library from the bishop of Orvietto, legate to Pope Urban V. about the year 1362, is said to inform that pontiff that the stones of the Coliseum had been offered for sale, but had found no other purchaser, than the Frangipane family, who wished to buy them for the construction of a palace. The editor of Winkelmann was, however[1], unable to find this letter: and it is somewhat singular that no search has as yet been able to discover the document which Barthelemy saw in the archives of the Vatican, and which contained a common privilege granted to the factions of Rome of "digging out" stones from the Coliseum[2]. The author of Anacharsis, however, can hardly be suspected of an imposture; and the exaggeration of Poggio, who says that in his time the greater part of the amphitheatre had been

ratori, you find these words: "Per fabbricare il Palazzo Farnese gran guasto diede all anfiteatro di Tito. Fece gridare il clero e i Popoli suoi per le gravezze loro accresciute." Annali. ad an. 1549. tom. x. p. 335. The indignation of the people was for the taxes, not the destruction of the Coliseum.

[1] Dissertazione, &c. p. 399.

[2] "Et præterea, si omnes concordarent de faciendo Tiburtino quod esset commune id quod foderetur." Mémoires de l'academie des inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 585 also published separately.

reduced to lime[1], bespeaks some terrible devastation not at all reconcileable with that integrity which Mr. Gibbon affirms to have been preserved up to the time of Paul III. The historian quotes both the document of Barthelemy and the lamentation of the Florentine, and there is no way of accounting for his error except by supposing that he applied all dilapidation previous to that period solely to the interior elevation, which, however, would be also a mistake. Blondus has besides left a memorial of the ruin a hundred years before the pontificate of Paul III.[2] In fact we have seen that Paul II. had before employed many of the blocks of travertine for his palace of Saint Mark; and Cardinal Riario for that of the Chancellery[3]. Theodoric thought a capital city

[1] "Ob stultitiam Romanorum majori ex parte ad calcem redactum." De Variet. Fortun. in loco cit. Poor Marangoni interprets this folly to be their rebellion against, not the amphitheatre, but the pope. "Non oscuramente attribuendo queste rovine alla stoltezza de' Romani *ribellati contro il Pontefice.*" Ibid. p. 47.

[2] Both he and Lucius Faunus and Martinelli attributed the ruin to the Goths, mistaking an order of Theodoric to repair the walls of Catania with the stones of an amphitheatre, as if it applied to the Coliseum. Marangoni, ibid. p. 44.

[3] "Paulus II. ædes adhuc Cardinalis ad S. Marci amplissimas extruere ceperat: quas deinde cum Pontifex ædificaret ex amphitheatri ruinis uti postea Raphael Riarius et Alexander

might be built with the wealth expended on the Coliseum[1], and indeed some of the noblest palaces of modern Rome have been constructed out of a small portion of the ruins. There appears to have been a sale of some of the stones in 1531, and in the next century others were employed in one of the buildings on the Capitol[2].

But all lesser plunder has been obliterated by the more splendid rapine of the Farnese princes. The Baths of Constantine, the Forum of Trajan, the Arch of Titus, the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, the Theatre of Marcellus, added their marbles to the spoils of the Coliseum: and the accounts of the Apostolic chamber record a sum of 7,317,888 crowns expended between the years 1541 and 1549 upon the gigantic palace of Campo di Fiore alone[3]. Whether the progress of decay was anticipated and aided, or whether such blocks only as had already fallen were applied to the purposes of

Farnesius fecisse dicuntur." Donatus, lib. iv. cap. ix. This is but a delicate phrase if Paul III. had really thrown down the outside ranges.

[1] Cassiod. epist. xlii. lib. iv.

[2] In 1604: these facts are stated from the documents in Marangoni, p. 56.

[3] Dissertazione, &c. p. 399. note c. The mention of the Theatre of Marcellus has been added from Venuti Roma Moderna, in his account of the Farnese palace.

construction, is still a disputed point. Martinelli[1] has dared to believe in the more unpardonable outrage, whilst Marangoni has stepped forward to defend the Popes, but candidly owns that Paul III. and Riario may have thrown down many of the inner arches.

Amongst the projects of Sixtus Quintus was that of establishing a woollen manufactory in the Coliseum, which had before given shelter to the artisans of periodical fairs, and according to what we can collect of the plan from Fontana[2], it appears that if it had been carried into execution, the arcades of the Coliseum would have been entirely closed up, and the whole mass have been converted to a circuit of dirty dens like the Theatre of Marcellus. Mabillon, who says that if Sixtus had lived a year longer we should have had the Coliseum entirely restored[3], talks as if

[1] Roma Ricercata nel suo sito. giorn. 6. Marangoni, ibid. p. 47. Martinelli says Paul II. *cut down the arches towards St. John and St. Paul;* but Platina, who had been imprisoned by that pontiff and would not have been silent, (*perhaps,*) notices no such attack in his life of Paul.

[2] Some of the earth was cleared away and excavations made in the area, and Sixtus had already advanced 15,000 crowns to merchants to "establish the manufactory." Fontana—di alcune Fabbriche fatte in Roma da PP. Sisto V. Marangoni, ibid. p. 60, 61.

[3] "Vixisset Sixtus V. et amphitheatrum, stupendum illud

he had never been at Rome or opened a single book on the subject.

In 1594 some of the upper arches were occupied by mechanics[1], who paid a pound of wax quit rent to the arch confraternity of the Roman Gonfalonier.

The papal government must be charged with neglect, if not with spoliation. Of the wall said to be built round the Coliseum by Eugenius IV. there is no authentic record. Mr. Gibbon quoted it from Montfaucon, who took it from Flaminius Vacca, who lived more than a hundred years after Eugenius, and reported it on hearsay[2]. This majestic relic, which had been protected as a barrack, a hospital, and a bazar, and which more enlightened ages considered only as a convenient quarry, seems never to have been estimated in its true character, nor preserved as the noblest monument of Imperial Rome, until a very late period. Piety had interfered but feebly, notwithstanding the claims of the amphitheatre to veneration. Fontana,

opus, integratum nunc haberemus." Iter. Ital. num. xxix. Mus. Ital. tom. i. p. 74.

[1] Marangoni, ibid. p. 71, 72.

[2] *Intesi dire*, &c. Vacca heard it from certain Olivetan monks of Santa Maria Nova; but Marangoni looked over their archives, and found no such record, nor have the Olivetans pretended to the property, ibid. p. 58.

in his work[1], had intended to give a list of the martyrs who suffered there, but employed a person to furnish his catalogue who is owned to have been of no very critical capacity, and to have inserted names to which this arena could not pretend. The more judicious Marangoni, who will follow no blind guides, nor any less respectable authority than the Roman martyrology, or the sincere acts of Ruinart, or Surio, or Peter de Natalibus, thinks it a supportable conjecture, that Gaudentius was the architect who built it, and was put to death for his Christianity by Vespasian. The excellent Vicentine Canon forgot that he had just mentioned that the completion of the work took place after the death of that emperor. He will, however, positively name no more than eighteen martyrs of the male sex, beginning with Saint Ignacius, and ending with Telemachus, together with six females, four of whom are hardly to be reckoned amongst the triumphs of the arena, as the lions refused to injure them[2], and

[1] L'Anfiteatro Flavio descritto, e delineato, dal Cav. Carlo Fontana. Hag. 1725. Marangoni, ib. p. 25.

[2] S. Martina, S. Tatiana, S. Prisca, were all exposed to lions, who licked their feet: also, " S. Daria verg. sposa di S. Crisanto, come crede il Martinelli, fu esposta dal Tiranno all' ignominia, sotto le volte dell' anfiteatro, ove da un lione fu difesa la di lei castità," ibid. p. 25. Then comes much

they were reserved for less discriminating executioners. The list is considerably swelled with two hundred and sixty "anonymous soldiers," who, after digging an arena without the Salarian gate, were rewarded with death, which the Christian fasti call martyrdom, on the first of March, in the reign of Claudius II.[1]

Marangoni avers that no memorial remains of the exact contrivance by which the sufferers were exposed to the wild beasts, although there are so many left of the conversion of the lions: but he might have seen the small bronze reliefs at the Vatican found in the Catacombs, where the lions are seen chained to a pilaster, and the martyr unarmed and half naked at their feet. That some Christians suffered amongst other criminals is extremely probable. We learn from Martial[2], that the amphitheatre was a place of

learning to prove there were brothels in the amphitheatre, which appears certain; but that there were lions in waiting may want confirmation. The lions being found good Christians, at least where females were concerned, virgins were condemned to worse than death from the violence of men, and it became a proverb, "*Christiani ad leones virgines ad lenones.*" See—Aringhi Roma Subterranea, lib. ii. cap. i. tom. i. p. 197. num. 23. edit. 1651.

[1] "Dugento, e LX. MM. anonimi soldati, sotto lo stesso Claudio II." &c. Ib. 23.

[2] Epig. 24. lib. x. Epig. 7. ibid. 37.

execution, and that under Domitian the spectators were glutted with burnings and crucifixions. Those who had the noble courage to die for their faith, would be punished and confounded, except by their own sect, with other rebellious subjects of the empire. It appears that the condemned were brought in at the close of the day, and that the gladiatorial shows were terminated with these horrors.

The Canon, in order to shew how much the Coliseum was always esteemed by the pious, relates that Saint Philip Neri was tempted by the devil there in the shape of a naked woman[1], and that a friend of Saint Ignatius Loyola had a hundred gold crowns given to

[1] The story is told from Father Bacci's life of Saint Philip Neri, lib. i. cap. v. n. viii.; but Marangoni, in relating it, does not observe that the devil must have been as fond of the Coliseum as the saint. Neri was a very considerable person in his day, and raised several people from the dead, particularly a youth of the Massimi family, on the 17th of the kalends of April in 1583. This family, one of the noblest, and descended (so it is thought) from the Fabii, have attested the fact, by building a chapel in their own palace, and by performing an annual service there, when they distribute pictures of the miracle, drawn in 1761 by order of Camillus Marquis Massimi, with a subjoined account of it just as it happened, in the presence of the father and many witnesses. Very nearly the same time that Neri was raising the dead in Rome, Lord Bacon was spreading his philosophy in London.

him by a messenger from the martyrs who had suffered there, and who were the peculiar objects of Loyola's devotions[1]. Moreover, Pius V. used to say, that he who wanted relics should take some earth from the arena, which was cemented with so much holy blood[2]: and Cardinal Uderic Carpegna always stopped his coach opposite to the Coliseum, and repeated the names of all the martyrs who had been sacrificed on that spot[3]. His eminence's patience and piety were not, as we have seen, put to any very severe test. Yet, in spite of the sanctity of the earth, the structure itself was little benefited.

At the end of the sixteenth century a little church, with a bell and a contiguous hermitage,

[1] John Cruccius was the man's name—the messenger disappeared, after giving the crowns. Cruccius came home and told Ignatius, "Il S. Padre tosto rese grazie a Dio, senza dimostrare alcun segno di maraviglia, forse avendone avuto alcun lume superiore: ma quanto alla circostanza del luogo, che fu l'anfiteatro, sembra potersi credere, che seguisse anche per intercessione de' SS. Martiri, de' quali S. Ignazio fu divotissimo." Marang. ib. 63. This is the way that books, and very good books too, are written at Rome.

[2] Ib. 64.

[3] "Ed a tempi nostri, son io testimonio, che ogni qualunque volto sono ivi passato col Signor Cardinale Ulderico Carpegna, questo piissimo Signore ha fatto sempre fermare la carozza con fare la commemorazione de' SS. Martiri, che ivi gloriosamente trionfarono." Ib. 64.

were consecrated by Julio Sansedonio, patrician of Sienna, and bishop of Grossetto, and this structure was repaired, in 1622, in those arches where the hermitage and chapel are now seen.

It was above the site of this church, on a wide platform which had been left entire over the arches of the old steps of the amphitheatre, that, from sometime in the fifteenth century, the "Passion of our Saviour" had been performed on every Good Friday, by expert actors, to an audience which Pancirolus, in his "Hidden Treasures[1]," affirms was equal to that of the ancient games. We have notice of the "Resurrection" written by Julian Dati, the Florentine, also performed at the Coliseum, although the date in which that sacred farce (they are Tiraboschi's words[2]) was composed, cannot be precisely assigned. It might be contemporary with the Abraham and Isaac, acted at Florence in 1449, with the "Balaam and Josaphat," the "Conversion of Saint Paul," and other mysteries brought upon the stage in the latter half of the fifteenth century.

These representations continued in the Coliseum until the reign of Paul III., whose pro-

[1] Tesori nascosti, ibid. 59.

[2] "Non possiamo accertare quando quella sacra farsa fosse da lui composta." Storia della Lett. Ital. tom. vi. par. iii. lib. iii. p. 814.

hibition to continue them bespeaks him perhaps guilty of devoting the building to his own purposes of plunder.

With the exception of the above-mentioned chapel-building[1], we lose sight of the destination of the amphitheatre, until 1671, when permission was obtained from Cardinal Altieri, and the Senate, to represent bull fights in the arena for the space of six years, and this would have certainly taken place had not Clement X. listened to the deprecations of Carlo Tommassi, who wrote a treatise to prove the sanctity of the spot[2]. In consequence, the pontiff employed the less pious zeal of Bernini, and by some arrangements of that artist set apart the whole monument to the worship of the martyrs. This was in 1675, the year of the jubilee[3]. The mea-

[1] Bramante Barsi got permission to excavate there in 1689.

[2] The senate granted the permission, reserving a box for themselves, holding twenty persons, "senza pagamento alcuno." See the document in Marangoni, p. 72.

[3] One of the inscriptions affixed on that occasion runs thus—

"Amphitheatrum Flavium
Non tam operis mole et artificio ac veterum
Spectaculorum memoria
Quam Sacro Innumerabilium Martyrum
Cruore illustre
Venerabundus hospes ingredere
Et in Augusto magnitudinis Romanæ monumento

sure then taken to prevent the entrance of men, and animals, and carriages, by means of blocking up the lower arches, and to put a stop to nightly disorders, were, however, found insufficient, and Clement XI., in 1714, employed Bianchini in repairing the walls, and finding other methods of closing the arcades; and about that time were also erected the altars of the passion. A short time afterwards was painted the picture of Jerusalem and the Crucifixion, still seen within the western entrance.

The Romans were not pleased with being excluded from their amphitheatre, and in 1715 made an application for the keys, which the pope refused. The neglect of the interior may be collected from a petition presented in 1727, to allow the hermit to let out *the grass which grew on the surface of the arena*[1]. A solitary saint had been established in the ruins at the first building of the chapel, and it is to a respect for one of his successors that we owe an interposition in favour of the Coliseum, which it would perhaps never have commanded on its own account. An attempt was made in the night of the 11th

Execrata Cæsarum sævitia
Heroes Fortitudinis Christianæ suspice
Et exora
Anno Jubilæi. MDCLXXV.

[1] Marangoni, ib. p. 73.

of February, 1742, to assassinate the hermit, Francis Beaufort, and it was expressly on that occasion that the accomplished Lambertini was induced to renew the consecration of the Coliseum[1]. His inclosures and edicts cleared it of murderers and prostitutes, and repaired the fourteen altars, and erected the cross: but in spite of this judicious interference, and whatever were the cares of the truly antiquarian Braschi, half a century seems to have much hastened the progress of decay, and in 1801 the most intelligent of our countrymen foresaw the speedy dissolution of the whole structure[2].

The great earthquake in 1703, which threw down several large masses towards the church of St. Gregory[3], most probably loosened other portions of the ruin. The late government has propped the tottering fragment, and the immense

[1] The author of the memoir attributes the profanations suffered by the Coliseum to the devil himself. "Ma poichè l'infernale inimico continuamente procura," &c. p. 67. Benedict's edict bears date 1744.

[2] See—Forsyth's Remarks, &c. p. 146. 2nd edit.

[3] Marangoni calls it a wing of the building, on the authority of Ficoroni, who was in Rome at the time. Vestigia e rarità di Roma, p. 39. "Essendo caduta un ala del Colosseo verso San Gregorio," ib. p. 48. One of the internal arcades also fell down on the day on which Innocent XI. died, 12th of August, 1689.

buttress, which is modestly marked with the name and number of Pius VII., and is said to have cost seventy thousand crowns, will help to secure the yawning rents on the side towards the Lateran. Sentinels have been found a more effectual protection than the hermit, or the cross, or the walls.

With the leave of Maffei[1], there is still something more than a piece of the bark left to wonder at. The antiquary may profit by the recent exposure of the substructures of the arena; but the clearing away of the soil, and the opening the arches, increases the satisfaction of the unlearned, though devout admirers, who are capable of being affected by the general result, however little they understand the individual details, and who wander amidst these stupendous ruins for no other instruction than that which must be suggested by so awful a memorial of fallen empire.

[1] "Che genera ancor maraviglia con quel pezzo della corteccia che ne sussiste." Veron. Illust. p. iv. p. 24.

Stanza CXLVI.

Sanctuary and home
Of art and piety—Pantheon!—pride of Rome.

Whether the Pantheon be the calidarium of a bath or a temple, or a single or a double building, it is evidently that structure of which the ancients themselves spoke with rapture, as one of the wonders of Rome: whose vault was like the heavens[1], and whose compass was that of a whole region[2].

Notwithstanding the repairs of Domitian, Hadrian, and Severus and Caracalla, it is probable that the later artists copied the old model, and that the Portico may still be said to belong to the age of Augustus. Knowing that we see what was one of the most superb edifices of the ancient city, in the best period of its architecture, we are surprised, when looking down on the Pantheon from one of the summits of Rome, with the mean appearance of its flat leaden dome, compared with the many towering structures of the modern town; but the sight of the Portico from the opposite extremity of the market-place in front of the Rotonda, vindicates the majesty of the ancient capital.

[1] "ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ νομίζω ὅτι θολοειδὲς ὂν τῷ οὐρανῷ προσέοικεν." Dion. Hist. Rom. lib. liii. tom. i. p. 722.

[2] "Pantheum velut regionem terretem speciosa celsitudine fornicatam." Amm. Marcell. lib. xvi. cap. x. p. 145.

The Abate Lazeri[1] has done his utmost to prove this structure a bath, or, at least, not a temple; or if it were a temple, he would show that a temple does not always mean a religious edifice, but sometimes a tomb, and sometimes the mast of a ship; and that Pantheon was a band of soldiers. However, as our Pantheon is neither one nor the other of these three, we need not embarrass ourselves with the name which was a difficulty even in ancient times. Dion ascribed it to the expanding vault, but tells that others referred it to the resemblance to several deities observed in certain statues of Venus and Mars[2]. There is no evidence that it was dedicated to all the gods, although such a persuasion prevailed with the early Christian writers[3]: nor is there any authority for the assertion of the pilgrim of the thirteenth century, that Cybele and Neptune were the original possessors of this temple.

[1] Discorso di Pietro Lazeri della consecrazione del Panteone fatta da Bonifazio IV. Roma, 1749.

[2] Hist. Rom. in loc. citat.

[3] Paul the deacon—the martyrology. "Idem (Focas) Papa Bonifacio petente, jussit in veteri fano, quod Panteon vocabant, ablatis idolatriæ sordibus, Ecclesiam Beatæ semper Virginis Mariæ, et omnium Martyrum fieri, ut ubi omnium non Deorum, sed Dæmonum cultus erat, ibi deinceps fieret omnium memoria sanctorum." De gest. Lang. lib. iv. cap. xxxvii. p. 464, Script. Rer. Ital. tom. i.

The words of Pliny should be reckoned decisive, that the Pantheon was dedicated to Jove the Avenger[1]; and Lazeri has only one way of getting rid of this witness, which is by remarking, that all places dedicated to gods were not necessarily temples. In his reply to objections he rather gives way, and retreats to the ground that the Christians did not think it a temple, or they would have destroyed it, as they did all other edifices devoted to the pagan religion!! This is the strength of his argument; and, up to a certain point, he makes out his case better against, or, as he thought, *for*, the Christians, than against the pretensions of Jupiter to his claims over the Pantheon. In both one and the other position the Abate has fallen into errors for which he has been sharply reproved by the editor of Winkelmann[2].

The positive merit of "saving and converting the majestic structure of the Pantheon[3]" would have been greater, if the consecration had taken place earlier than two hundred years after the triumph of Christianity. From the shutting of the temples in the reign of Honorius to the

[1] "Pantheon Jovi Ultori ab Agrippa factum, cum theatrum ante texerit Romæ." Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. cap. xv.

[2] Dissertazione sulle Rovine, &c. p. 284, note (c).

[3] Decline and Fall, cap. lxxi. tom. xii. p. 408.

year 609, it must have been abandoned to the ravages of neglect. Vain attempts have been made to prove that it was dedicated before the above date[1], but all the writers are of accord in this point: there is only some doubt whether *all the Saints* should not be esteemed the first possessors of the Christian church, instead of *all the Martyrs.* It seems, that as early as the fourth century, the Saints were worshipped with the Martyrs[2]; and, indeed, as martyrdom grew more rare every day, and was not to be had, except now and then from an Arian tyrant, it is probable that simple saintship was regarded as a just title to an apotheosis. Gregory IV. changed the martyrs, however, into saints, at the re-consecration in 830, though the ancient name was still preserved—*Beata Maria ad Martyres*[3].

The positive merit of saving the Pantheon would have been more complete, if the pontiffs had not afterwards converted it to a fortress, which, in the time of Gregory VII. was called *S. Maria in turribus,* and was defended by the anti-pope, Clement III. when the Countess Ma-

[1] By father Martene. Discorso, &c. p. 4.

[2] Mabillon, Cardinal Bona, and Fontanini, are of this opinion. Discorso, p. 4.

[3] Anastas. in vit. Greg. IV. p. 226. Script. Rer. Ital. tom. iii.

tilda came to Rome in 1087[1]. It appears, from the form of an oath taken by the Senators of Rome in the time of Celestine III. about the year 1191, that it could receive a papal garrison, and was, together with the island of the Tyber, and the castle of Saint Angelo, fortified against the enemies of the church[2].

The pontiffs would have deserved more praise if they had not added and taken away ornaments at will; if Urban VIII.[3] had not imitated the wretched Constans, and if he had not added his hideous belfries; if Alexander VII. had cleared away all, instead of half, of the buildings which blocked up the Rotonda; if Gregory XIII. and Clement XI. had opened a wider space in front; and, lastly, if Benedict XIV.

[1] Baron. annal. ecclesias. ad an. 1087.

[2] Mabillon. Mus. Ital. tom. ii. Ordo Romanus, num. 86. p. 215. Juramentum senatorum urbis—"nominatim autem sanctum Petrum, urbem Romanam, civitatem Leoninam, transtyberim, insulam, castellum Crescentii, sanctam Mariam Rotundam." All these the senator swore to assist the Pope to retain.

[3] Urban made a boast of his robbery, and affixed this inscription under the portico: "Urbanus VIII. Pont. Max. Vetustas ahenei lacunaris reliquias in vaticanas columnas et bellica tormenta, conflavit ut decora inutilia et ipsi prope famæ ignota fierent in Vaticano templo apostolici sepulchri ornamenta in Hadriana arce instrumenta publicæ securitatis, anno Domini MDCXXXII. Pontific. IX."

had not white-washed the interior of the vault. The leaden roof, and the three supplied pillars, and other frequent repairs, are to be registered amongst the merits of the Popes; but, judging from the general appearance, we shall nowhere find a more striking example of the neglect of the ancient structures of Rome, than at the Pantheon. Of this the common antiquarian artists are so sensible, that they do not represent the edifice as it is, but as it should be, in an open space, where all its beauties may be beheld and approached.

The piety, if not the taste, of the pontiffs should be interested in the decent preservation of this monument; and if the names of heroes and emperors, if Jove and his gods are of no avail, respect for the founder, Boniface, and twenty-eight cartloads of relics[1], the worship

[1] The twenty-eight cartloads of relics are founded on the authority of an old MS. cited by Baronius in his notes to the Martyrology. Anastasius does not particularise the exact quantity of relics, but only says that Boniface brought *many good things* into the church. "Eodem tempore petiit a Phocata Principe templum quod appellatur Pantheon. In quo fecit ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ semper Virginis et omnium martyrum. In qua ecclesia Princeps multa bona intulit." De Vitis Roman. Pontif. Script. Rer. Ital. tom. iii. p. 135. The Abate Lazeri defends Boniface for his transport of relics, saying, "and if it is true that which the author of the wonders of Rome tells of the Pantheon, that, before it was

of the Virgin and all the saints, should rescue the temple from the contagion of common sewers and market-places. The veneration for a miraculous image, which has lately crowded the Rotonda, has not bettered the condition of the pavement: nor does it help the general effect of the interior prospect to be aware that we see exactly the same idolatry which was practised in the same spot sixteen centuries ago. A philosopher may smile, but a less indifferent spectator is shocked at the inexplicable credulity which stares in the stedfast faces of a hundred worshippers, seated on chairs, for hours, before the image, in the wish, the hope, the certainty, of some indication of Omnipotence from the dirty cobweb covered block which has been preferred into divinity.

The Pantheon has become the shrine not only of the martyred, but of the illustrious in every art and science: but the busts of Raphael, Hannibal Caracci, Pierin del Vaga, Zuccari, and others, to which age has lent her venerable

dedicated, the demons used to attack with blows those who came near it, we may easily see what motive induced Boniface to transfer thither that great multitude of martyrs in solemn pomp." Discorso. p. 26. The Abate also is scandalised with Baronius for owning, " in dedicatione templorum multa fuisse gentilibus cum pietatis cultoribus similia ex Suetonio disces:" and he talks of the " *libricciuolo*" of " *un tal Coniers Middleton*," p. 33. meaning his letter from Rome.

hue, are ill assorted with the many modern cotemporary heads of ancient worthies which now glare in all the niches of the Rotonda. The little white Hermæan busts, ranged on ledges, side by side, give to this temple of immortality the air of a sculptor's study; and there is something embarrassing in reading so many names under almost every image: that of the portrait, of Canova the dedicator, and of the artist. A corner awaits Bodoni, now under the chisel of the modern Cleomenes, who will himself complete the crowded series. The many friends of the most amiable man in existence, and the admiration of all Europe, would long defer that mournful recompense.

The inscription on the Pantheon, whose simplicity, if not whose date, belongs to the rise of the monarchy,

M. AGRIPPA . L. F. COS. TERTIVM . FECIT. [1]

has all the effect produced by one of the greatest

[1] The other inscription, given, as has been remarked in note to Stanza lxxx. so often incorrectly, is thus written:

"Imp. Cæs. L. Septimius . Severus . Pius . Pertinax . Arabicus . Adiabenicus . Parthicus . Maximus . Pontif. Max. Trib. Potest. X. Imp. XI. Cos. III. P. P. Procos. et—— Imp. Cæs. M. Aurelius . Antoninus . Pius . Felix . Aug. Trib. Potest. V. Cos. Procos. Pantheum . Vetustate . corruptum . cum . omni . cultu . restituerunt."

It is in two lines, and the second begins with Imp. Cæs. M. Aurelius.

names, and by the most powerful title, of the ancient world. We may, perhaps, be inclined to think that the words were known anciently not to have been cotemporary with the original building: for Aulus Gellius mentions, that a friend of his at Rome wrote to him, asking why he used the phrase "*me jam tertium scripsisse.*" It should seem that the question would not have been asked if the inscription had any authority, or, at least, that Gellius would have cited it as a triumphant quotation, to shew that the Augustan scholars had declared in favour of the adverb of Varro[1], although Cicero had been unwilling to decide.

Stanza CXLVIII.

There is a dungeon, in whose dim drear light, &c.

Alluding to the famous story of the Roman daughter. A Temple of Piety was built in the *Forum Olitorium*, by Acilius Glabrio the Duumvir[2], to commemorate the victory of his father over Antiochus, at Thermopyle, and a gold statue of Glabrio was placed in this temple. Festus mentions that it was consecrated on a spot where a woman once lived who had nourished her father in prison with her own

[1] Noct. attic. comment. lib. x. cap. i. edit. Ald. p. 130.
[2] Liv. Hist. lib. x.

milk, and was thus the occasion of his being pardoned[1]. Solinus has much the same account. It is a pity that so fine a tale should be liable to such contradictions. The father in Festus is a mother in Pliny[2], and the plebeian of the latter is a noble matron in Valerius Maximus[3]. The naturalist lays the scene in the prisons of the Decemvirs, and adds, that a Temple of Piety was erected on the site of these prisons, where the Theatre of Marcellus afterwards stood. The other writer (Valerius), makes no mention of the temple. It seems clear, however, that Festus and Pliny allude to the same story, and that the change of sex was,

[1] "Pietati ædem ab Acilio consecratam ajunt eo loco quo quædam mulier habitaverit, quæ patrem suum inclusum carcere mammis suis clam aluerit; ob hoc factum impunitas ei concessa sit." Sex. Pomp. Fest. de Verb. sig. lib. xx. ex Bib. Ant. August. p. 598. vol. 7. edit. Lucæ. 1772.

[2] "Humilis in plebe et ideo ignobilis puerpera, supplicii causa carcere inclusa matre, cum impetrasset aditum a janitore semper excussa, ne quid inferret cibi, deprehensa est uberibus suis alens eam. Quo miraculo salus matris donata filiæ pietati est; ambæque perpetuis alimentis; et locus ille eidem consecratus est deæ C. Quinctio. M. Attilio Coss. templo pietatis extructo in illius carceris sede, ubi nunc Marcelli theatrum est." Hist. Nat. lib. vii. cap. 36.

[3] "Sanguinis ingenui mulierem prætor apud tribunal suum capitali crimine damnatam, triumviro in carcere necandam tradidit," &c. Valer. Max. lib. v. cap. iv. note 7.

perhaps, occasioned by some confusion of the father of Glabrio with the mother of the pious matron [1].

The antiquaries have chosen to point out the scene of this adventure at the church of " St. Nicholas *in carcere*," which should therefore stand on the site of the Decemviral prisons and the Temple of Piety. But here a great difficulty presents itself. For if the Theatre of Marcellus had displaced both the prisons and the temple, which the words of Pliny would lead us to suppose, it seems useless to look for either one or the other at this day. But at this church there are evident remains, not of one only, but of two, and perhaps three temples, whose columns are incrusted in the lateral walls on each side. The antiquaries have assigned these triple vestiges to the Temple of Piety, built by Glabrio, to the Temple of Piety raised to the Roman matron, and to a Temple of Juno Matuta. This is sufficiently bold, when, if we follow Pliny, the first did not exist in his time, when, according to Festus, there were not two, but only one temple, and when Juno Matuta is only known to have stood somewhere in the Forum Olitorium [2].

[1] Or perhaps with the other Grecian story told by Valerius Maximus, (ibid. No. 1. *Externa*) of Perus and Cimon, of which there was a fine picture.

[2] " Forum Olitorium, Columna Lactaria, Ædes Pietatis,

The name of the church is S. Nicholas, "*in carcere Tulliano.*" But the Tullian prisons could never have been here nor any where, except on the Clivus Capitolinus hanging over the Forum, and it has been proved that the last epithet which deceived the Cardinal Baronius[1], and occasioned one of the famous Roman controversies, is a fanciful addition of latter times. Notwithstanding the assertion of Pliny, a prison that went by the name of the *Decemviral* existed near the Theatre of Marcellus in the days of the regionaries, and a Temple of Piety is recorded by Rufus, in the Forum Olitorium; but as the temple is not mentioned by Victor[2], and as the other writer puts it even in a different region from the prison, it seems stretching their authority to conclude S. Nicholas *in carcere* to be the site both of the one and the other, as well as of a second Temple of Piety, which never appears to have had any distinct existence. The name of the church is a very admissible

Ædes Matutæ." Sext. Rufi. de regionib. Urb. "Regio circus Maximus." Ap. Græv. tom. iii. p. 98.

[1] In notis ad Martyrol. a. d. xiv. Martii. Apolog. contra Hugonium, de stationibus urbis Romæ. Nardini, lib. v. cap. xii. gives a long account of the controversy.

[2] Victor, "Carcer. C. or CL.X. Virorum." Regio IX. Circus Flaminius, ib. p. 106. Rufus says, "Carcer. C. Virorum." Regio Circus Flaminius, ibid. p. 97. The C should be CL.X.

evidence for the contiguity at least of the prison; and as the columns cannot have belonged to that structure, they may be assigned to any of the temples or basilicas noted as being in that quarter. Lucius Faunus[1] says there were in his time some vestiges of the prison; but the hole to which strangers are conducted by torch-light at the base of the columns can hardly have any reference to the ancient dungeon[2].

Aringhi has given the most striking example of the perversion of antiquaries, when he supposes that some lines of Juvenal's third satire[3] were intended to extol the size and magnificence of the *single prison* which could contain *all the criminals* of early Rome: as if the satirist had meant to praise the architectural grandeur, not the virtue, of the primitive ages[4].

Our own times have furnished us with a new piety, which the French audience of Mr. Bruce thought to be a phrase happily invented by our gallant countryman. The courageous attachment of wives to their husbands under calamity,

[1] De Antiq. Urb. Rom. lib. iii. cap. v. ap. Sallengre, tom. i. p. 217.

[2] Nardini, lib. vi. cap. ii. takes no notice of the columns, but believes in the site of the prison and the story of Festus.

[3] "felicia dicas
Sæcula, quæ quondam sub regibus atque tribunis
Viderunt uno contentam carcere Romam."

[4] Roma subterranea, lib. ii. cap. i. tom. i. p. 200.

superior to what is found in any other relation of life, has been acknowledged in all periods, from the Augustan proscription[1] to the plague at Florence[2]: and the *conjugal piety* of Madame Lavalette[3] is distinguished from many similar exploits, merely because it was seconded so nobly, and occurred in an age capable of appreciating such heroic devotion.

Stanza CLII.

Turn to the Mole which Hadrian rear'd on high,
Imperial mimic of old Egypt's piles,
Colossal copyist of deformity.

This imitation of Egyptian deformity must not be supposed to apply to the mausoleum of Hadrian, but to the monstrous divinities, and the fabrics of the Tiburtine villa. The Mole was constructed, it is thought, on the plan, nearly, of the Mausoleum of Augustus or of Cecilia Metella.

We must recur to Mr. Gibbon to notice two or three mistakes which he has made in his

[1] "Id tamen notandum est, fuisse in proscriptos uxorum fidem summam, libertorum mediam, servorum aliquam, filiorum nullam." C. Vell. Paterc. Hist. lib. ii. cap. lxvii.

[2] Boccaccio, in the introduction to the Decameron, puts the abandonment of husbands by their wives as the last horror of the plague.

[3] By some accident the phrase is omitted in the printed speech; or, perhaps, the invention belonged to the reporters.

mention of this monument. The first occurs in his account of the defence of Rome by Belisarius, where he says that the sepulchre of Hadrian was then converted, "for the first time, to the uses of a citadel[1]." This does not seem probable; for the account given of it by Procopius tells us that it had become *a sort of tower*, and had, by additional works, been *anciently*[2] joined to the walls of Rome. Donatus[3] and Nardini[4] believe it to have been fortified by Honorius at the first approach of the Goths, when he is recorded as having repaired the walls.

It preserved until the tenth century the name of the Prison, or House of Theodoric[5], by which appellation it is designated once or twice, so late as the fifteenth century[6]; and this circumstance makes it appear that the Gothic monarch had made it capable of defence *previously* to the siege of the city by Vitiges.

The second error occurs in a note in the

[1] Decline and Fall, &c. cap. xli. tom. vii. oct. p. 230.

[2] Παλαιοὶ ἄνθρωποι are his words. Γοτθικων. ἡ δ. p. 199.

[3] Lib. iv. cap. vii.

[4] Lib. i. cap. x.

[5] "Quod domum Theodorici dicunt." Bertholdus, ap. Baron. Ann. Ecclesias. tom. vi. p. 552. ad an. 1084.

[6] It had then begun to be called Rocca, or Castello di Crescentio, but the names were promiscuously used to the XVth century. Dissertazione sulle Rovine, &c. p. 386.

same place of the history, in which the *breadth* of the sides of the ancient square base is mistaken for the *height* above the walls [1].

Another inadvertency is to be found in that passage in which the historian tells us, that if the people "*could have wrested from the Popes the castle of St. Angelo*, they had resolved, by a public decree, to have annihilated that monument [2]." But the partisans of Urban VI., in the year 1378, which is the period alluded to, *did take* the Mole, which was surrendered to them after a year's siege, by a Frenchman who commanded for the Genevese antipope, Clement; and it was on that occasion that they stript off the marbles and destroyed the square base, and would, conformably to their decree, have torn down the round tower itself, but were unable from the compact solidity of the fabric.

The authority of Poggio alone, whom Mr. Gibbon cites and misinterprets, is decisive [3].

[1] "*The height above the walls*, σχεδον ες λιθου βολην," says Mr. Gibbon, Ibid. note 83. The words of Procopius are ἔυρος μὲν σχεδόν τι ἐς λίθου βολὴν ἑκάστη ἔκουσα· πλευραί τε αὐτοῦ τέσσαρες εἰσὶν ἴσαι ἀλλήλαις, ibid.

[2] Cap. lxxi. tom. xii. p. 418.

[3] "Alterum quod castrum sancti Angeli vulgo dicunt, magna ex parte Romanorum injuria, licet adhuc titulus supra portum extet integer, disturbavit; quod certe funditus evertissent, (id enim publice decreverant) si eorum manibus

" The other [sepulchre]," says the Florentine, " which they commonly call the castle of Saint " Angelo, the violence of the Romans, hath, in " a great measure, although the title of it is still " extant over the door, defaced: and, indeed, " they would have entirely destroyed it, if, after " having taken away many of the great stones, " they had been able to pull to pieces the re- " mainder of the Mole." The resistance of the naked tower, when actually exposed to the triumphant rage of a whole people, must augment our respect for this indissoluble structure.

The efforts of the Romans are still visible in the jutting blocks which mark where the corresponding portion of the basement has been torn away. The damage must have been very great, and have totally changed the appearance of the monument. In fact a cotemporary writer [1],

pervia, absumtis grandibus saxis reliqua moles extitisset." De Fortun. Variet. Urb. Rom. ap. Sallengre, tom. i. p. 507.

[1] " Sed proh dolor! istud sumptuosum opus, destructum et prostratum est, de anno præsenti, 1389, per populum Romanum, quia fuerat aliquando detentum per fautores Roberti Cardinalis gebennensis." Benvenuto de' Rambaldi da Imola. Comment. in Dant. cant. xviii. ver. 28. tom. i. p. 1070, Oper. Dant.

Tiraboschi (Storia, &c. tom. v. part ii. lib. iii. num: xi. p. 463.) has corrected this date to 1379, making, at the same time, the following shameful mistake: " Perciocchè *parlando del Campidoglio* dice," (ib. p. 1070.) " sed proh dolor

one of Dante's commentators, talks of the "sumptuous work" being *destroyed and laid prostrate;* and another writer of the same times[1], records that the Romans did *so handle it, and so dismantle it,* that from that time the goats came to pasture about it.

The usual uncertainty obscures the original form of this structure. The Augustan historians have left us only two short notices, by which we know that the Tomb of Hadrian was at the foot of the bridge built by that Emperor. The restored figure given in the Itineraries, the triple range of columns, the sculptured marbles, the gilded peacocks, the brazen bull, and the Belvedere pine, date no farther back than the description of Pietro Manlio, who wrote about the year 1160, and who did not tell what he saw himself, but quoted a homily of Saint Leo[2].

istud sumptuosum," &c. which shows that he never could have read the commentary itself, which says *nothing about the Capitol*, and where the castle of St. Angelo is specified in the words immediately preceding the above quotation. "Ideo denominatum est ab isto eventu Castrum Sancti Angeli, sed proh dolor," &c. The necessity of consulting originals is nowhere so obvious as in turning over the great Italian works of reference.

[1] "E si lo ebbero e tanto lo disfecero che a tempo dappoi ci givano le capre a pascare." Steph. Infess. Diario. ap. Script. Rerum Italic. tom. iii. part 2. p. 1115.

[2] "Est et Castellum, quod fuit memoria Adriani imperatoris sicut legitur in sermone S. Leonis Papæ de festivitate

Manlio himself saw it as a fortress, with a church, perhaps, on the top, as described by Luitprand, a little before the time of Otho III[1]. Yet the description of Manlio was followed by the anonymous pilgrim of the thirteenth century, and also by the sculptor of the bronze doors of St. Peter's in 1435, which furnish the original of the pictures seen in all the guide

S. Petri ubi dicit Adriani Imperatoris miræ magnitudinis templum constructum quod totum lapidibus coopertum et diversis historiis est perornatum: in circuito vero cancellis æneis circumseptum, cum pavonibus aureis et tauro æneo; ex quibus (pavonibus) duo fuerunt de illis qui sunt in cantharo Paradisi. In quatuor partes templi fuerunt quatuor caballi æenei deaurati, in unaquaque fronte portæ æneæ: in medio giro fuit sepulchrum porphyreticum quod nunc est Lateranis in quo sepultus est Innocentius Papa II. cujus coopertorium est in Paradiso B. Petri super sepulchrum Præfecti." See—Historia Basilicæ Antiquæ S. Petri Apost. in Vatic. cap. vii. p. 50. ad beatiss. pat. Alexand. III. Pont. Max. apud Acta Sanctorum, tom. vii. part ii. p. 37. edit. 1717. Ant. Alexander was elected in 1159: there are interpolations in this history from the pen of a Roman canon of the Vatican, Paul. de Angelis. See—Prefat. p. 36.

[1] "In ingressu Romanæ urbis quædam est miri operis mirœque fortitudinis constituta munitio..... munitio autem ipsa, ut cetera desinam, tantæ altitudinis est, ut Ecclesia quæ in ejus vertice videtur in honore summi et cælestis militiæ principis Archangeli Michaelis fabricata dicatur Ecclesia *sancti Angeli usque ad cælos.*" De rebus per Europam gestis, lib. iii. cap. xii. fo. 51. edit. 1514.

books. The oldest description to be relied upon, that of Procopius, is much more simple. "Without the Aurelian gate," says he, "a stone's throw from the walls, is the tomb of the Emperor Hadrian, a striking and memorable work. For it is composed of Parian marble, and the stones adhere compactly together, although without cement. Each of the sides is in breadth a stone's throw, and the four sides are equal one to another: the height exceeds that of the walls. On the top are seen many admirable statues of men and horses of the same marble; and because this tomb seemed, as it were, a strong-hold over against the city, the ancients joined it to the walls by two branches, which connected it with the town wall: it looks, therefore, like a high tower protecting the neighbouring gateway[1]."

If then there was any colonnade similar to that of the plans, it must have disappeared before the time of Procopius: and the editor of Winkelmann, who avers that there are still evident traces of the adjustment of a vault, which sprang from the tower and terminated on the circular portico, asks whether it is probable, that the pillars of the lower range may have been employed in forming the great portico which led to the Vatican, or in building the

[1] Procop. in loc. sup. cit.

Vatican Basilica itself[1]. By this query, it is presumed, he thinks such a conjecture *is* probable, notwithstanding the columnar ornaments of the sepulchre are merely traditional, and are falsely supposed to have enriched St. Paul's, *without the walls*, with her paonazzetto pillars, and the Lateran with those of verd-antique.

A more correct judgment could have been formed before the destruction in 1379, than can be deduced from the present naked skeleton of peperine, surrounded as it is by the repairs and outworks of successive pontiffs: for it should be borne in mind by the spectator, that, excepting the circular mass, he sees nothing which dates earlier than the beginning of the fifteenth century: and that even the round tower itself has been much changed by the explosion of the powder magazine in 1497, the final reparation of which reduced the fortress to its present form.

The fate of the modern city, and even of the papal power, has in some measure depended upon the castle of Saint Angelo; and by a la-

[1] "Sarebbe mai probabile il dire, che le colonne più grandi abbiano servito al mentovato gran portico, che dalla mole giugneva fino alla basilica Vaticana, restaurato, e ampliato di molto dal Pontefice S. Adriano. O che siano state impiegate nella stessa Basilica Vaticana?" Dissertazione sulle rovine, &c. p. 386. If so, the church has another plunder to be noted of the monuments of Rome.

mentable coincidence, the tomb of one of their despots has helped to perpetuate the subjection of the Roman people. Of such importance was this fort to the pontiffs, that the taking of it is, by an ecclesiastical writer, ranked with a famine, an eclipse, and an earthquake[1].

At one time it commanded the only entrance into Rome on the Tuscan side[2]. The seizure of it by the Patrician Theodora, in the beginning of the tenth century, was one of the first steps towards the establishment of the power of herself and the more famous Marozia, her daughter: and the possession of it enabled her lover, Pope John X., after her death probably, to expel from Rome Alberic, Marquis of Camerino, the husband of the same Marozia[3]. The daughter,

[1] "Eodem anno per totum orbem magna fames fuit, ita quod exinde multi homines mortui sunt: et sol eclypsim passus est, *castrum S. Angeli captum est*, terra mota est." Vit. Pontif. Card. de Aragon. et alior. ap. Script. Rer. Italic. tom. iii. p. 313. speaking of the year 1084.

[2] Luitprand, in loc. sup. cit.

[3] There are some doubts and difficulties respecting these two persons whom Mr. Gibbon calls *sisters* (cap. xlix. vol. iv. oct. p. 197.) Marozia had a sister, Theodora, whom Baronius, by a great mistake, calls the wife of Adalbert II., Duke or Marquis of Tuscany (Annali d'Italia. ad an. 917. tom. v. p. 282.): but the lady to whom the exploits of a Theodora seem to belong, was the *mother* of Marozia, and she who

however, was mistress of the castle in 925, and handed it over, with the sovereignty of Rome, to her second and third husbands, Guido and Hugo. Her son Alberic drove away the latter, who was obliged to drop down from the battlements upon the town wall. The castle stood two sieges against Hugo, and passed into the hands of the Patrician, Pope John XII. That pontiff and Adalbert, son of King Berenger, endeavoured to hold it against Otho the Great (A. D. 963), but were compelled to retire[1]. The Saxon emperor came to Rome and deposed John for "hunting and calling on Jove and Venus, and other demons, to help him when he

placed her lover, the Bishop of Ravenna, on the papal throne, under the name of John X. in the year 914. This is the *scortum impudens* of Luitprand, who says of her, "Romanæ civitatis non inviriliter monarchiam obtinebat." (Annali ad an. 914. ib. p. 273). Mr. Gibbon tells us, that "*the bastard son, the grandson, and the great grandson of Marozia, a rare genealogy, were seated in the chair of Saint Peter*," (ibid. p. 198); but John XI. was the son of her husband, Alberic, not of her lover, Pope Sergius III., as Muratori has distinctly proved (Annali ad an. 911. tom. v. p. 268). Her grandson Octavian, otherwise called John XII., was pope; but a great grandson cannot be discovered in any of the succeeding popes, nor does our historian himself, in his subsequent narration, (pag. 202.) seem to know of one.

[1] The dates of some of these events will have been seen in note to Stanza LXXX. Luitprand is the authority for Hugo King of Burgundy's method of escape.

played at dice, besides other irregularities[1]." Otho addressed himself to the assembly in Saxon, not being able to speak Latin.. Benedict VI. was murdered in the castle by Cardinal Boniface Francone (in 973) who was driven from Rome by Benedict VII., but kept the Mole by means of a band of ruffians, and thus enabled himself to return from Constantinople, when he put to death another pope, John XIV. This was in 984 or 985[2].

It was in the succeeding pontificate of John XV. that the Cæsar Crescentius seized and refortified the castle so strongly, that it was called afterwards his *rock* or *tower*, and all the efforts of an imperial army, commanded by Otho III. in person, were insufficient to dislodge him. His surrender was, we have seen[3], the effect of treachery, not of force.

The next memorable notice of the castle is the two years blockade of the anti-pope Cadaloo, in the time of Alexander II., in the years

[1] "In ludo aleæ Jovis Veneris cæterorumque dæmonum auxilium poposcisse dixerunt." Luitprand, lib. vi. cap. vii. fol. xc. He was accused also of turning the Lateran into a brothel; in short, of every thing but the real offence, *his opposition to Otho.*

[2] Muratori has the first, Baronius the second date.

[3] See note to Stanza CXIV.

1063 and 1064[1]. Gregory VII. defended himself in the fortress against the Roman partisans of Henry IV., and in this transaction also the Mole appears to have been impregnable. The people and the Germans could not force their way into it, and the only effort made was to prevent Gregory from getting out. He was liberated by the army of Guiscard; but the castle fell into the hands of his enemies. The troops of the countess Matilda put it in possession of Victor III., whose garrison held it against the partisans of the antipope Guibert, in 1087. It was attacked by the people, and yielded by Urban II., not, however, in consequence of a violent assault[2] (A. D. 1091). It was then resolved to level this "lasting shame" with the ground; but the anti-pope, Guibert, Clement III., retained it for his own service, and defended it for seven years against his opponents.

The army of the crusaders, in 1096, assaulted it in vain. Urban recovered it by composition in 1098. Another anti-pope Anaclete II. wrested it from the hands of Innocent II., who re-

[1] Annali d'Italia, ad an. cit. There is a short history of the castle of St. Angelo in Donatus, lib. iv. cap. vii. which being founded chiefly on Baronius, seems very incorrect, especially as to dates.

[2] Baronius would make it appear so. See—Annali ad an. 1091, tom. vi. p. 303.

turning with the Emperor Lothaire III., tried, without success, to recover it. This occurred in 1137, and in the following year, after the death of Anaclete, and the deposition of Victor IV., Innocent was again master of the Mole[1]. The Peter Leone family guarded it for the successive pontiffs, Celestine II., Lucius II., and Eugenius III., up to the year 1153[2], when the new senate occupied this and the other fortresses. It stood a siege for Alexander III. against Frederic Barbarossa, in 1167; but fell into the hands of the senate after the retreat of that pontiff.

The subsequent popes, however, seem to have been the nominal masters of it, even when they had lost nearly the whole of the temporal power at Rome[3], and after the retreat to Avignon. A legate was governor at the elevation of Rienzi, and after his fall the Tribune remained for a month securely posted in the citadel. Innocent VI., hearing of the death of his Tribune-senator Rienzi, was alarmed lest the barons should seize the Mole, and accordingly delivered it into the keeping of Hugo Lusignan, king of Cyprus, then appointed Senator. On the return from

[1] Annali, tom. vi. p. 461.

[2] Ibid. ad an. cit.

[3] Donatus, lib. iv. cap. vii. p. 890. Script. Rer. Ital. tom. iii.

Avignon it received Gregory XI. (1376); but his successor, Urban VI., lost it in the hurry of the election. The opposing cardinals would not deliver it into his hands, and the captain of their anti-pope, Clement VII., defended it, as already described, until 1378, the date of its destruction.

It remained dismantled until 1382, when two Romans said to Boniface IX. "If you wish to maintain the dominion of Rome, fortify Castle Saint Angelo[1]. He followed their advice, and a great antiquary records the consequence. "Boniface the IX., the pontiff, first fortified the Mole of Hadrian, and *established the papal power*[2]." The people petitioned Innocent VII. to restore to them *their liberty*, the *Capitol*, the *Milvian Bridge*, and the *Mole*, and seized, for a moment, all but the latter, which they assaulted, but were repulsed by the pontifical troops, and totally routed in the gardens of Nero, in the Vatican.

Ladislaus, of Naples, expelled Pope John XXIII., and left the castle in the possession of his daughter, Johanna II. It now stood another

[1] "Se tu vuoi mantenere lo stato di Roma acconcia castel Sant' Angelo." Steph. Infess. diario. ibid. p. 1115. loc. cit.

[2] "Bonifacius IX. Pontif. max. primus, mole Hadriani munita Romanorum Pontificum ditionem stabilivit." Onuf. Panvinii Descrip. Urb. Romæ. ap. Græv. tom. iii. p. 299.

siege from Braccio Montoni[1], and was soon afterwards delivered to Pope Martin V.

During the reign of Eugenius IV. a plan was laid for murdering the governor, and when that pope was driven from the city, the people attacked it furiously, but were unable to prevail. Sixtus IV. renewed the practice of naming cardinals to the præfecture of the castle. Nicholas V. added something to the fortifications; but Alexander VI. constructed the brickworks on the summit, and also the bastions in front of the Tyber. These additions enabled it to withstand the Imperialists of Charles V. for seven months: and it was not finally taken by assault, but surrendered, by Clement VII. and his thirteen cardinals, upon terms. Paul III. and Pius IV. adorned and strengthened it; but the great engineer was Urban VIII.; he added a mound, a ditch, a bastion, and a hundred pieces of cannon of different calibre, thereby making it evident, as Donatus quaintly observes, that "his bees (the Barberini arms) not only gave honey, but had stings for the fight[2]."

Since the modern improvements in artillery,

[1] The dates will have been seen in note to Stanza LXXX.

[2] "Nimirum apes non solum mel conficiunt sed etiam aculeatæ armantur ad pugnam." Lib. iv. cap. vii. ibid. Books were written to shew how it should be fortified; so the writer found somewhere; he believes in Guicciardini.

it is clear that the castle, commanded, as it is, by all the neighbouring hills, could never resist a cannonade. It was surrendered during the late war of 1814, after an idle menace from the French captain, that the angel on the top should sheath his sword before the garrison would capitulate.

Yet it has completely answered the intention of Boniface, and the Tomb of Hadrian has served for the basis of a modern throne. This must magnify our conceptions of the massive fabrics of ancient Rome: but the destruction of the memorial would have been preferable to the establishment of the monarchy.

The interior of the castle is scarcely worth a visit, except it be for the sake of mounting to the summit, and enjoying the prospect of the windings of the Tyber. The memorials of Hadrian are reduced to a bust, and a copy of it shewn in the principal saloon, whose frescoes are very little attractive, after the sight of the masterpieces in that art. The size, however, of the room is so considerable, that a tragedy was represented there under the direction of Cardinal Riario in presence of the whole papal court[1]. The living still continue to be en-

[1] Tiraboschi, Storia, &c. tom. vi. par. iii. lib. iii. p. 816. This was about the year 1492. Innocent VIII. was spectator, and the academicians of Pomponius Lætus were the

tombed in the repository of the dead, and the exploit of Cellini, which a view of the fort makes less surprising, has been repeated by a late prisoner.

Stanza CLIV.

Majesty,
Power, Glory, Strength, and Beauty, all are aisled
In this eternal ark of worship undefiled.

The ceremonies of a religion must, except where they are sanguinary, be considered the most harmless part of it: if, however, our notions of primitive Christianity be at all correct, nothing can so little resemble it as the present worship at Saint Peter's. A noisy school for children in one corner; a sermon preached to a moveable audience at another; a concert in this chapel; a ceremony, half interrupted by the distant sounds of the same music, in another quarter; a ceaseless crowd sauntering along the nave, and circulating through all the aisles; listeners and gazers walking, sitting, kneeling; some rubbing their foreheads against the worn toes of the bronze Saint Peter, others smiling at them; confessors in boxes absolving penitents; lacquey de places expounding pictures; and all

actors. The plays were performed also in the cardinal's house, and "in media Circi caveâ," probably the Coliseum.

these individual objects and actions lost under an artificial heaven, whose grandeur and whose beauties delight and distract the eye.

Such is the interior of this glorious edifice—the Mall of Rome; but religious sentiments are, perhaps, the last which it inspires. Where man has done such wonders, the ungrateful mind does not recur to the Deity; and it is not at all uncharitable to conclude, that the worship of the early Christians, condensed in the damp crypts and catacombs, was performed with a fervour which evaporates under the aerial vault of Saint Peter's.

His present holiness, talking to an Englishman of the church of Rome, said to him, "You are good Catholics in your country; here of is all *talk* (grido)." Pius had, at the same time, the discernment to attribute the superior earnestness of the Catholics of the United Kingdom, to their labouring under certain political disadvantages, which made their piety a point of honour and of pride. It has, in truth, been long before discovered, that penalties are little less effectual than premiums, in keeping alive an absurd superstition, which can fall into disuse only by entire toleration and neglect.

The indifference of the Italians, however, must be understood under certain limitations. It may be true of the loungers at Saint Peter's, of the

company which throngs the papal shows, most of whom are foreigners, or of the higher classes, and perhaps of the clergy themselves. But the very old of both sexes, the peasantry, the greater part of the females of all classes, but more in the higher than the middling orders, may be considered, in the whole, sufficiently obedient to the easy injunctions of their religion; and, as far as faith is concerned, cannot have been much surpassed by the most devout of their ancestors.

In all those conditions of mankind most readily exposed to danger or distress, and most easily affected by a sense of weakness, by a hope of the better, by a fear of the worse, the ancient superstition has recovered whatever influence she may have lost by the French invasion. At Rome the days of miracles are returned, and these miracles are solemnly examined, and, what is not a whit more ridiculous, substantiated according to the rules of the council of Trent. If they coincide with this test of the sixteenth century, they are then ratified by the signature of cardinals, and published in the Court Gazette. It should be told that this last condition is prudent; for a miracle at Rome is resorted to like a fire at Constantinople; and on the notification of an exorbitant impost, the Madonnas open their eyes, in order, if such a

phrase may be allowed, to open those of the people. This took place in the spring of 1817; but the imprisonment of three or four priests soon restored both the statues and their worshippers to their usual insensibility. When the images do not declare themselves against the government, their animation is rather encouraged than forbidden, and superstition is allowed its full play. The new constitution which the enlightened Gonsalvi has proposed does not apply to the spiritual condition of the people.

Pius VII. himself underwent, more than once, a partial translation in 1811, at Savona, as we find by a picture now circulated in his capital[1]. When his Holiness returned to Rome in 1814, the people went out to meet him, with palms in their hands, and bearing full length portraits of him; which is an honour never permitted except to the Beati, on their road to an apotheosis. Shortly after the happy event, the city was solemnly lustrated by holy water and missions, that is, sermons in the streets, to purge away the contagion of the French.

There are still the above-mentioned missions at Rome and elsewhere, when the audience are preached into the immediate conflagration of

[1] With this legend: Pius . Sept . Pont . Max . Savonæ. in Ecstasim iterum raptus die Assumptionis, B. M. V. 15ta Augusti, 1811. His Holiness is in the air.

their Metastasios or other pernicious volumes; and, stranger still, pious whippings are still publicly performed in addition to the discipline enjoined amongst the penances of the convents. The reader may not object to a short account of this extraordinary exercise, such as it is now administered in the oratory of the Padre Caravita and in another church at Rome.

The ceremony takes place at the time of vespers. It is preceded by a short exhortation, during which a bell rings, and whips, that is, strings of knotted whip-cord, are distributed quietly amongst such of the audience as are on their knees in the middle of the nave. Those resting on the benches come to edify by example only. On a second bell, the candles are extinguished, and the former sermon having ceased, a loud voice issues from the altar, which pours forth an exhortation to think of unconfessed, or unrepented, or unforgiven crimes. This continues a sufficient time to allow the kneelers to strip off their upper garments: the tone of the preacher is raised more loudly at every word, and he vehemently exhorts his hearers to recollect that Christ and the martyrs suffered much more than whipping —"*Shew, then, your penitence—shew your sense of Christ's sacrifice—shew it with the whip.*" The flagellation begins. The darkness, the tumultuous sound of blows in every direction—

"Blessed Virgin Mary, pray for us!" bursting out at intervals—the persuasion that you are surrounded by atrocious culprits and maniacs, who know of an absolution for every crime—the whole situation has the effect of witchery, and so far from exciting a smile, fixes you to the spot in a trance of restless horror, prolonged beyond expectation or bearing.

The scourging continues ten or fifteen minutes, and when it sounds as if dying away, a bell rings, which seems to invigorate the penitents, for the lashes beat about more thickly than before. Another bell rings, and the blows subside. At a third signal the candles are re-lighted, and the minister who has distributed the disciplines, collects them again with the same discretion; for the performers, to do them justice, appear to be too much ashamed of their transgressions to make a shew of their penance, so that it is very difficult to say whether even your next neighbour has given himself the lash or not.

The incredulous or the humourist must not suppose that the darkness favours evasion. There can be no pleasantry in doing that which no one sees, and no merit can be assumed where it is not known who accepts the disciplines. The flagellation does certainly take place on the naked skin; and this ferocious superstition, of

which antiquity can furnish no example[1], has, after being once dropt, been revived as a salutary corrective of an age of atheism. The former processions of flagellants have not been yet renewed, but the crowds which frequent the above ceremony, leave no doubt that they would be equally well attended.

Such an innovation may be tolerated, and perhaps applauded, in the days of barbarism, when the beating of themselves was found the only expedient to prevent the Italians from the beating of each other; but the renewal of it at this period must induce us to fear that the gradual progress of reason is the dream of philanthropy, and that a considerable portion of all societies, in times the most civilized as well as the most ignorant, is always ready to adopt the most unnatural belief, and the most revolting practices. It is singular, however, that the

[1] The priests of Cybele consented to that mutilation on which the monastic institutions have refined. Those of Bellona slashed themselves with knives, or appeared to do so: and Commodus, who suspected some deceit, insisted on a performance of the ceremony in his presence, and took care that the wounds should be given in good earnest. But in both these instances the sufferers were priests. The wounding and cutting were formalities, not a penance; and the people did not, as in the whipping, partake in such atrocious fooleries.

humane Pius and the intelligent Cardinal-secretary, do not perceive the objectionable part of an institution which was prohibited at its first rise, by some of the wisest Italian princes, and is now allowed nowhere but at Rome.

Flagellation began to be accounted amongst the duties of piety about the year 1260. It originated in Perugia, travelled thence to Rome, and in a short time the high-roads of Italy were crowded with processions of penitents, two by two, sometimes nearly naked, sometimes in sackcloth, scourging themselves from city to city, and preaching the correction of vice, and peace. Twenty thousand Bolognese, with their Gonfalonier at their head, whipped themselves all the way to Modena. The Modenese made a similar voyage: and the Chronicles tell us[1], that there was at the same time "*a great flogging for the love of God*," in Parma and Reggio, and in other cities of Lombardy. Manfred, however, king of the two Sicilies, the signiors of Milan, of Brescia, of Ferrara, "the sons and masters of iniquity[2]"

[1] "Fuit scovamentum magnum pro amore dei in Parma et in Regio et Mutina, et alibi etiam per Lombardiam, et paces inter homines habentes guerras factæ sunt." Chron. di Parma, ap. Murat. Dissertaz. sopra le antic. Ital. 75. p. 602.

[2] "Iniquitatis filii et magistri renuerunt accipere disciplinam." Ibid.

objected to receiving the discipline: they shut their gates against the flagellants, who, on their march towards Milan, were scared by the sight of six hundred gibbets erected by the Torriani, Lords of the country, and whipped themselves back to whence they came[1]. With such opposition, the practice would have expired upon the highways, had not the pious foundling of fanaticism been caught up and cherished in the warm bosom of mother church. Flagellation was no longer vagrant on the roads, but still flourished in the streets of cities, and in churches, and in convents. It became also the bond of union and the consolation of many lay confraternities, as well as religious foundations, was enriched by papal indulgencies, and transmitted, with unimpaired favour, from generation to generation.

The French government had other uses, not so absurd, but more pernicious, to which to apply the nervous arms of their subjects, penitent and impenitent. Self-whipping was abolished—it might have been thought for ever—but Pius VII. has returned, and seems to forget that he is not Clement IV. The scattered funds for idleness have been, as far as possible, recollected in the Roman states, and some other

[1] "Sed volentibus venire Mediolanum per Turrianos sexcentæ furcæ parantur, quo viso retrocesserunt." Ibid. p. 600. tom. iii. of the Italian edition.

parts of Italy; and religious orders re-established, in many instances, to the regret of the communities themselves. The education of youth is, we have seen, again put into the hands of the resuscitated Jesuits[1], whose suppression is now recognised amongst the causes of the late convulsions of Europe.

These views are powerfully seconded by the House of Austria, whose possessions, under various branches of the same family, now stretch from the Apennines of Cortona to the Po and the Alps. The Tuscans, since the reign of Cosmo III., have received the bent of superstition, and are distinguished, particularly the Florentines, for a disposition to credulity which will now return with all its force. Yet Pig-

[1] Hume, the friend of all establishments, and who owns the misconduct of the jesuits to have been much exaggerated, has this passage. "This reproach, however, they must bear from posterity, that from the very nature of their institution they were engaged to pervert learning, the only effectual remedy against superstition, into a nourishment of that infirmity; and as their erudition was chiefly of the ecclesiastical and scholastic kind (though a few members have cultivated polite literature) they were only the more enabled by that acquisition to refine away the plainest dictates of morality, and to erect a new system of casuistry, by which prevarication, perjury, and every crime, when it served their ghostly purposes, might be justified and defended." History of England, Elizabeth, cap. lxi.

notti, only a few years past, could still disperse his liberal opinions through his engaging history. The literary journal of Lombardy is revised by the pensioners of the court; yet, in the same precincts, the author of the Aristodemus still lives and writes. A German has been placed at the head of the university of Padua, yet the Italian Odyssey has just added another wreath to the poet of the neighbouring Verona. Yet, if the present depression shall continue to weigh upon the Italians, such proofs of the unextinguishable genius of the soil, will become daily more rare. All the elements which, under the creative encouragement of a free, or even an independent government, might compose a great and enlightened nation, will mingle into their primitive confusion, and sedate ignorance establish, upon the inert mass, her leaden throne. A ray of light may struggle through the darkness, another Canova may arise after a dreary interval, and a faint voice remind some future age, that Italy was once the land of poets.

"In vain, in vain, the all-composing hour
Resistless falls: the Muse obeys the power.
She comes! she comes! the sable throne behold,
Of night primeval, and of Chaos old!
Before her, Fancy's gilded clouds decay,
And all its varying rainbows die away.

Wit shoots in vain its momentary fires,
The meteor drops, and in a flash expires.

Nor public flame nor private dares to shine,
Nor human spark is left, nor glimpse divine.
Lo! thy dread empire, Chaos! is restored,
Light dies before thy uncreating word:
Thy hand, great Anarch! lets the curtain fall,
And universal darkness buries all.

Stanza CLXXIII.

Lo, Nemi! navelled in the woody hills.

Stanza CLXXIV.

And near Albano's scarce divided waves, &c. &c.

Nemi, that is, the Arician grove, and the Alban hill, come within the tour commonly made by travellers; and a description, in the usual style, will be found in all the common guide-books. No one should omit to visit the two lakes. The tunnel, or emissary, cut nearly two miles through the mountain, from the Alban lake, is the most extraordinary memorial of Roman perseverance to be found in the world. An English miner would be at a loss to account for such a perforation made without shafts. It has served to carry off the redundant water from the time of the Veian war, 398 years before

Christ, to this day, nor has received, nor is in want of repairs[1].

When the traveller has wandered amongst the ruins of villas and tombs, to all of which great names are given[2], he may examine the productions of a discovery which has been lately made, and which, if there be no deception, has brought to light a society possessed, apparently, of all the arts of ancient civilization, and existing *before the arrival of Æneas in Italy;* a society which was buried in the convulsion that changed the volcano of Albano into a lake.

Doctor Alexander Visconti has enabled us to judge of this prodigious discovery, by publishing a memoir on the subject, and the reader may like to see the fact stated plainly, and divested of the solemn whimsical pedantry of the antiquary, and of the legal involution of the attached

[1] All that Livy says of this great work, after mentioning that it had been prescribed by a Tuscan soothsayer and the oracle of Apollo, is, "Jam ex lacu Albano aqua emissa in agros." Lib. v. cap. liv. It was completed in a year. It is three feet and a half wide, and six feet in height.

[2] Here you have Pompey's villa, Pompey's tomb, or, if that will not serve, the tomb of the Horatii and Curiatii, or, since that may not be bold enough, the tomb of Ascanius, in another quarter. Some, who are not content with tombs, call them villas. At the bottom of the hill, the antiquaries know the very cavern where Milo killed Claudius.

affidavits. It appears, then, that the Signor Carnevali, a gentleman of Albano, had found, in January 1817, a considerable quantity of cinerary vases, in turning up the ground for a plantation, near the road from Castel Gandolfo to Marino. On the 28th of the same month, one Signor Tomasetti, breaking up a continued mass of peperine which covers the declivity of the hill near the road to Marino, on the ground called Montecucco, when he came to the distance of five hundred and seventy-one Roman canes from the spot where Signor Carnevali had discovered his vases, suddenly found several cinerary vases, all of them broken excepting one. These were *under* the layer of peperine. The two gentlemen above-mentioned resolved then to make farther excavations, and, in presence of several respectable witnesses, on the 4th of the following February, broke up another mass of the same *peperine*, which measured one hundred and fifty-nine and a half Roman canes in square surface. They cut downwards through about a palm and a half of common soil, and then lower, to the depth of two palms of peperine, and came to some white cretaceous earth, the layer of which they found to be a palm and a half deep. In this layer they found a terra cotta, figured, vase, broken in many pieces. The vase was seen in its bed by all the wit-

nesses, previously to being taken up. Other similar fragments were discovered as the labour continued; and it was observed that the mass of peperine became much thicker, and covered the surface to the depth of four palms. Pieces of a conduit pipe of some size were also found, and that not in mass, but separated from one another. The fragments of vases produced from this excavation were not of sufficient size to furnish any conjecture as to the form of the vessels: but from the bottom of one, more entire than the rest, they were thought to have had the shape of a *pila*, or water cistern.

It should be told that, at different periods, four and three years before, other fragments of vases had been found *under* the *peperine;* and that under the *same* mass of peperine certain stone-cutters had found pieces of iron, appearing to them to be nails. Of these discoveries affidavits were made a little after the period of the present excavation, in March. The Signor Carnevali tells his visitors of a metal mirror also found in the same position, but the affidavits make no mention of it.

The whole of the *fragments* found on the fourth of February were carefully collected, and, the next day, in presence of the former witnesses and a notary public, were examined and compared with the *entire* vases found in January

by the Signor Carnevali. The consequence of this comparison was a solemn judgment that the *fragments* and the entire vases were of the same composition and materials.

This identity being established, the same value was, of course, attached to the vases of the Signor Carnevali, which had been found *not* under the peperine, as to that of Signor Tomasetti, and to the fragments discovered on the fourth of February, *under* the rock. As, therefore, the Tomasetti vase and the fragments were in *themselves* in nowise curious, the antiquaries proceeded to the examination of the Carnevali vases with the same satisfaction as if they had been found *under* the rock with the others.

The Doctor Visconti addressed the above letter to his *friend*, Signor Carnevali, in April; and the memoir having been read in the Archæological Society at Rome, was shortly after published, together with the affidavits before alluded to. This memoir discusses the contents found in the Carnevali vases, which are indeed so curious, that it has been thought worth while to give a drawing of them, which, after personal examination, the writer can aver to be very correct.

The whole memoir goes to prove that the vases and the nails, and all the Alban fragments, belong to a state of society existing in this

mountain before the volcano of Albano was extinguished, that is, at some unknown period before Ascanius founded Alba Longa, in the year 1176 before the Christian æra.

It is premised that the peperine under which the Tomasetti vase, and (by induction) all the vases, were laid, was originally a volcanic substance thrown up at the great convulsion, and gradually formed into stone. These burials, then, did not take place after, but before, the present surface was formed, therefore they belong to a people who lived at Alba before the lake was formed, and the crater became extinct: these people Visconti calls Aborigines. With this foundation the Roman antiquary endeavours to shew, that the burials may have belonged to a people even of the extreme antiquity requisite for such a supposition.

For the burnt bones are no objection: burning the dead was practised by the very ancient Greeks, by the very ancient Trojans, by the very ancient Thebans, by the very ancient Romans, and the very ancient Gauls, also by the modern Indians.

The vessels of earth are no objection, for the tomb of Belus contained a vase of glass, therefore clay must be much more ancient; besides which Numa had a college of potters; and, in the time of Julius Cæsar, the colonists at Capua

discovered some very old monumental *vascula* of pottery, with some inscribed brass tablets, saying they belonged to the tomb of Capys; add to this, these very ancient pottery works were of a dark colour, as are the Carnevali vases, as if tinged with the oxid of iron, and their composition differs from the common clay by the addition of a certain quantity of volcanic sand, and according to a chemical analysis, they are thus combined in every 100 parts.

Silicious earth	63½
Aluminous do.	21½
Carbonate of lime	4½
Water	10½
	100

The different contents of the deposit are no objection, for the large outward jar, the cinerary urn, the ointment vase, and the metal ornaments within the cinerary vase, the *calefactorium*, the perfume vase, the vase called *guttus*, the five other vases, perhaps, for wine, and milk, and honey, the bowl and the three platters, may be all shown to be of most ancient usage. The same may be said of the funereal lamp of rough workmanship, and more especially of a little rude idol which seems to be one of the *Oscillæ*, a sacrifice to *Dis*, in place of the human victim, and of that sort which Rachel

stole from her father. "*Erat Laban ad tondendas oves, et Rachel furata est idola patris sui.*"

As for the bronze utensils, they are also of the highest antiquity, for brass was the first metal employed; the fibula may have pinned the amianthus or other cloth in which the ashes were wrapped, a conjecture more probable from its being made without soldering: the elegance of the workmanship does not surpass that of the coin of Servius Tullius. Tubal Cain was a worker in all works of brass and iron. The small wheel, the little lance head, the two hooks, the stylus, were part of the sepulchral *munera* buried with the dead; the spoked wheel was as old as the time of Homer; the stylus also having the obliterating part moveable, differs from the usual form, and, *therefore*, is of great antiquity; styli were used at Rome in the time of Porsenna. The Doctor Visconti attempts no explanation of the forked instrument in *terra cotta*, seen in the first drawing. The mysterious figures and points observable in the second drawing, may be letters, of which, "*according to Pliny, the Phenicians were the inventors,*" and were appropriately added to a monument, *quia monet nos.*

So far the Roman antiquary. It is now our turn to make a few remarks. In the first place, then, it should be told that in the month of May,

following the discovery, the ground whence the interments were extracted was covered up and shown to no one even upon enquiry. An English naturalist who visited the spot, was unable to discover the precise excavation; and it was the opinion of the same gentleman, that the stone called peperine was, in fact, a tufo gradually formed by the sand and water crumbling down the declivity from the summit of the hill, and not a volcanic formation, of which he discerned no signs. According to this supposition, there is no necessity for having recourse to the extreme antiquity assumed by the Doctor Visconti.

In the second place, although there was only one entire vase actually found under the rock, and that vase was of much more simple workmanship, and contained none of the curious implements of the others, the Signor Carnevali, in showing his museum, makes no distinction between the two discoveries, but, on the contrary, endeavours, both by his silence, and, when he is pushed, by his assertions, to confound the two, assuming that his whole museum is of equal antiquity with the said Tomasetti vase.

This remark becomes more important, although more invidious, when it is told that the articles of the museum are *for sale*, the price

of a complete interment being fifty louisd'ors. This incomprehensible dispersion of such treasures does not quite agree with the following *innocent* conclusion with which Visconti perorates.

"DEAR FRIEND,

"These monuments are come into your house,

'Data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris:'

it seems to me that the most venerable antiquities strive to get into your hands, for a few days since you have acquired that very ancient *æs grave*, never yet published, weighing four pounds and a half, with an anchor on one side, and a tripod on the reverse: perchance it is the destiny of tripods to fall into the hands of the best of men. I recommend to you these *innocent utensils*[1] that have lasted for so many years, more precious than gold and than silver, since they were made in times when, according to Pliny, gold and silver were worked not for men, nor even for the gods themselves. Take care that they are not broken nor lost, but pass down from age to age like the stars. What a number of fine things you have—and you may yet possess!! but your heart is refulgent

[1] "Vi raccomando questi innocenti stoviglie." Lettera, &c. p. 29.

above all, and if your modesty did not snatch the pen from my hand, how much I should write on that topic: I wait then for your other agreeable commands, that I may shew you by deeds that I am," &c.

The owner may think he follows his friend's advice, by retaining one or two of the best specimens.

Thirdly, the museum contains a great variety of articles, all of them *inferred* to have been laid under the rock, but for which circumstance there is no guarantee, even in the affidavits attached to the memoir; the bronze implements in great number and of every shape, are of as elegant and elaborate workmanship as is to be found in the specimens which are seen in the other museums of Europe, and which confessedly belong to a much later age than that assumed by Visconti. These bronze implements are frequently discovered in Italy and Greece, and certainly do not agree with the pottery of the large jar, or of the cinerary vase, which is of a form much more rude than suits with their shape and make. They do however agree well enough with the lamps and lacrymatories, which are entirely of the kind discovered every day in Greek and Roman burials. It is possible then, and, all things considered, probable, that the interments have been completed and adjusted since the

discovery, and that part of the pottery may belong to one period, and the implements and the other part of the pottery to another. The styli are in great variety, and belonged to a people whose alphabet was less rude than the pretended letters on the vases—one of the fibulæ has not altogether lost the spring. It must not be deemed too uncharitable to hesitate before we believe that all the articles were found in the Alban vases.

In the fourth place: the larger pottery is neither Roman nor Tuscan. It is not altogether unlike that found in other places, and supposed to be the work of the early inhabitants, whom it is usual to call Indigenes.

The most learned Roman writers, Porcius Cato, Caius Sempronius, and others, were of opinion that the Aborigines, or, as others called them, the Aberrigines, were Greeks from Achaia, who had migrated to Italy many years before the Trojan war: and Dionysius says, that, in that case, they were Arcadians who accompanied Œnotrus and Peucetius seventeen generations before the Trojan war[1], some of whom settled in Umbria[2], and sent out colonies to the Corniculan or Tiburtine mountains[3]. These Aborigines were joined by the Pelasgi,

[1] Lib. i. cap. xi. [2] Ibid. cap. xiii. [3] Ibid. cap. xvi.

colonists originally from Argos[1], and the two nations, about three generations before the Trojan war, were in possession of all the country from the Tyber to the Liris[2]; but the Pelasgi were extinct at the end of that war[3], or were mingled with the Aborigines[4]. According to this account we have Greeks settled for ages in these hills before the coming of Æneas to Italy; but that these Greeks were little better than barbarians, we may collect from the same authority, which tells us that the Arcadians under Evander, who settled on the Palatine hill about sixty years before the Trojan war[5], were the *first* that introduced the Greek letters, Greek music, and Greek manners into Italy[6]. Besides these Greek Aborigines, Dionysius seems to talk of certain indigenal natives who assisted them and the Trojans in founding Alba Longa. But who these Indigenes were, except they were Tuscans, whom he inclines to believe natives of Italy[7], does not appear from his account.

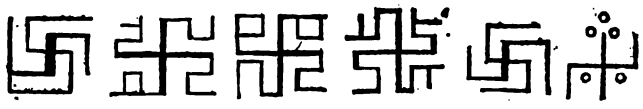
Whoever were the makers of the bronze implements, and some of the lesser vases, they must be supposed in a state of civilization superior to

[1] Lib. i. cap. xvii. xviii. xx.
[2] Ibid. cap. xxiv.
[3] Ibid. cap. xxxi.
[4] Ibid. cap. ix.
[5] Ibid. cap. xxx.
[6] Ibid. cap. xxxiii.
[7] Ibid. cap. xxix.

that which Evander improved by the introduction of Greek arts and letters, and which must have belonged to the people living there before the mountain assumed its present shape. The pottery is sufficiently rude for that age, but unless all the articles were found together, and in the pretended position, nothing can be argued with safety from any of the phenomena. Visconti has gained nothing by shewing the remote antiquity of similar manufactures. No one doubted that fact, but the question evidently reduces itself to the assigning *these individual* interments to a time and nation to which they may be reasonably referred. The enquiry undoubtedly is, supposing the whole discovery to be established, and that nothing has been interpolated, what people ever lived on the Alban hill at any period who might have made these vases?

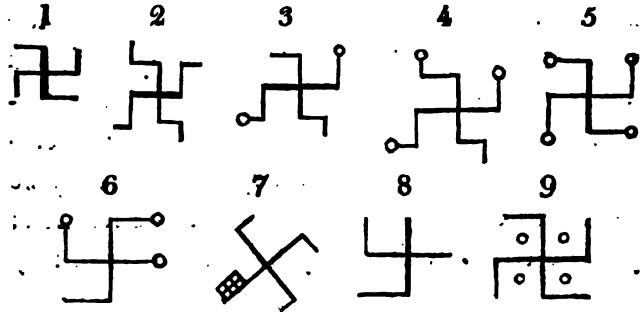
Since the return of the writer to England he has heard the suggestion of an English antiquary, which is certainly more ingenious, and it may be thought more satisfactory than the researches of Visconti. That which puzzled the Italian most has furnished the Englishman with the clue of his conjecture; for those figures which Visconti thinks may be letters, or, perhaps, whole words, like the Chinese characters, have induced him to come to a very different conclusion.

It will be seen that the root or germ of each of these figures is a cross,



and it is not a little singular that they bear a very close resemblance to a certain Runic character, or magical sign, found upon many northern monuments, and which is considered as denoting the hammer, or rather the battle-axe, of the Scandinavian Thor. The weapon of Thor was figured by a cross in very remote ages. When the horn of mead was passed to Hako the Good, he made the *sign of the cross* over the vessel. "What!" exclaimed a heathen Earl, "will not the king worship our gods?" "Nay," answered Earl Sigurd, "the king does as we do, he blessed the liquor in the name of Thor, by making the *sign of the hammer* over it, before he quaffed it."

The cruciform hammer takes various shapes, of which the following are specimens.



1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. On medals, or amulets, in the Museum of the Royal Academy at Copenhagen, on all of which is also a figure of Thor riding in his chariot, drawn by his Goats.

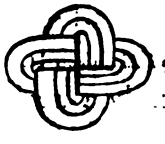
7. On a Runic monument lately discovered at *Snoldelev*.

8. At the end of a line of Runic characters engraved on a rock in Gothland.

9. On a Runic monument in the parish of *Skeftuna*, in Upland.

The similarity between these Runic "hammer crosses," and the marks on the vases of Alba Longa, is so great, that one might be tempted to maintain their identity; and there s, perhaps, some connexion between both, and the *crux ansata* of the Egyptian monuments. It is certain that the mythology of the Asi, although its doctrines may have been clad in another guise, was not confined to the Scandinavian race. And it seems that a character bearing a close affinity to the Runic alphabet, was once widely diffused throughout ancient Europe. The national enthusiasm of the northern antiquarians has too often outstripped their judgment; and many of the fanciful analogies of such really excellent authors as Perugakioled and Rudbuck, must unfortunately be reckoned amongst the dreams of the learned; yet the truths which they have discovered may

be easily separated from their delusions. Perhaps a Celtic origin may be ascribed to the tomb. Of the Celtic Taranus we know little; yet there are Roman inscriptions which show that he was worshipped as the Roman Jupiter. And it cannot be denied but that the deity whom the Romans knew as Jupiter, was the thunderer of the Northmen. If the superincumbent body of peperino is to be considered as a proof of the remote antiquity of the tomb, it must be referred to the Celtic aborigines of Italy; but if the bed can be considered as a formation of comparatively recent date, then the vase may contain the ashes of some Gaulish chieftain, or of a heathen Goth or Lombard.

A character resembling the hammer of Thor is seen in inscriptions discovered in Spain, and which resemble the legends of the medals which the Spaniards call the "medallas desconocidas." The same character also lurks in many magical books, though under other combinations. A diagram, or figure to which it bears some affinity, is often drawn by boys in Italy,  they do not however ascribe any meaning to it. It may be considered as a wild speculation to discover the traces of ancient mythology in a

school-boy's scrawl; but a remarkable instance can be given of the strange stubborn vitality of these vestiges of the superstitions of the elder day. We often see English shepherds cutting the pentalpha  in the turf, although they never heard of Antiochus, or saw his coin, and although they are ignorant of its mystic power.

It may finally be observed, that supposing the state of remote society to have existed, which the Italian antiquary assigns to the hill, and supposing these relics to have been suddenly overwhelmed by the volcano in those unknown ages, some other vestiges besides sepulchral deposits would have been found to attest the same industry and skill in the arts which is manifested in these specimens.

Notwithstanding however these difficulties, and a division of opinion even amongst the Romans, the discovery of the Alban vases has been considered of much importance, and has transported the antiquaries into ages and amongst nations, where, having no guide to lead, and no witnesses to contradict them, they may form leisurely a world of their own.



ESSAY

ON THE

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It is the boast of the Italians, that their literature has flourished with unequal, but uninterrupted brilliancy, from the thirteenth century to the present day.

The progress of time alone would naturally have produced and obliterated many innovations, but the frequent domestic revolutions, the repeated irruptions, the arms and the arts of strangers, succeeding each other rapidly and imperceptibly, and bringing with them new laws, and manners, and opinions, have occasioned in Italy more vicissitudes than are to be found in the literature of any other country. Thus it is that their critics have been able to point out at least ten different epoques when it has assumed certain characteristics, or, to use a single word,

a physiognomy, altogether distinct from that of any preceding or subsequent period. The average duration assigned to each of these epoques, has been laid down at about half a century. This is the utmost length that any individual taste and mode of writing can be discovered to have prevailed.

The above remark is purposely premised to a short account which it is intended to give of the present state of Italian literature; that is to say, of the character of the actual epoque, which embraces not only those writers at present in existence, but others who have powerfully contributed to form the taste and the tone which will continue to prevail until succeeded by another revolution in the republic of letters. The latter Italian authors may be expected to form a diversity more distinct than those of any other generation, when it is recollected, that whilst they wrote the most extraordinary change was prepared and consummated, that had ever affected the moral or political world. That the great convulsions which shook not only "mightiest monarchies," but also the mind of man, in all the countries of Europe, should communicate itself to these authors, was inevitable, and will be discovered in the works, the principles, the character, and the estimation, of the most celebrated amongst them, whom it is pro-

posed to examine and pourtray. These authors will be their poets; who are selected, first, because the verse of every country is the depository of the language, the taste, and the manners, of the times; secondly, because this is found more particularly the case in those nations whose imagination is their predominant faculty; and, in the third place, because the writers chosen on this occasion, are in part distinguished for their compositions in prose.

This method of illustration might be liable to objections in any other country than Italy, where the few men of superior genius are separated from the crowd of writers by a barrier, which in other nations is rarely visible until posterity has pronounced the final decision. In Italy the judgment is in some sort formed and given by their cotemporaries; and thus, although the struggle to attain the eminence may be more serious and protracted, there is less danger of future degradation.

An intimate acquaintance is, however, requisite, to perceive the difference between the esteemed and the popular author: for, otherwise, the above-mentioned singularity of Italian literature would be reduced to a shade only of distinction from that of other countries. A book may be in the hands of all readers, and, during some years, be the study and the talk of

all. This was the case with the *animali parlanti* of Casti: but the author had no pretence or right to renown. On the other hand, a work which few comparatively shall peruse, because every one cannot understand, having obtained the suffrages of those distinguished above the common class of readers, acquires for the author an established name, which the people themselves are soon taught to repeat with respect, although entirely ignorant or insensible of the specific merit which has obtained their applause. Such esteem may be compared to the blind honours conferred upon a successful general by the peaceful peasantry, who wish no other signal or reason for their shouts than the gazette, but it is not less devoted.

If we endeavour to account for this characteristic in the literature of Italy, a partial, or perhaps a sufficing, reason may be found, in the difference between countries like England and France, and one in which, as there is no single capital, there are, comparatively speaking, none of those court intrigues, none of those party passions, none of those fashionable cabals and tribunals, which are called into play and employed in Paris and London, in deciding the fate of authors. It is not that there are no reviews composed by the personal enemies or friends of the respective writers; it is not that

fashion has no voice; but the injustice of criticism, or the folly of a coterie, which may sway the public opinion for awhile in one of the great cities, is inevitably corrected before it has run through the mass of disinterested readers, and travelled the wide circle of Venice, Bologna, Parma, Verona, Milan, Turin, Florence, Naples, and Rome. The same instances of undeserved neglect and elevation may be found in each of those towns, as are the constant complaint throughout the vast extent of our own country. But even in any single capital the error is more speedily corrected by the justice of many rival, or, what is better, impartial neighbours: and as for the whole of Italy, there cannot be an instance of that rapid rise, and as sudden precipitation, of which we have seen so many examples in our times, and which are to be attributed solely to what we call the fashion of the day. You do not even hear the expressions usual with us, applied to their national writers. The favourite of *the town* would be an absurd solecism in a country where there are twenty towns with distinct literary interests and pretensions, and where the attachment of one city secures the opposition of another; nor, as it has been before mentioned, can some of the most established authors be said to be most *in vogue*, for they are certainly not the most read.

A reviewer may irritate the public curiosity, a lady of high rank may give a letter of recommendation, but neither the one nor the other can raise those phantoms of fashion, who, although they come and depart like shadows, walk the whole round of our united kingdoms, with all the honours and attributes of substantial existence.

If, then, we find any living author enjoying very nearly the same character in all the provinces of Italy, we can safely prognosticate that he has received his final estimation—that the just appreciation of his merits alone having raised him, will prevent him from ever sinking into total neglect; that he has become one of the national writers, subject, indeed, to the fluctuations which, as it has been before remarked, affect more especially the literature of Italy, but always to be ranked amongst the *classics* of his country.

The above circumstance furnishes the foreigner with a criterion not found in other countries: his survey is facilitated by being contracted to a narrower space; and when he has collected the judgment pronounced upon a very few, he need not embarrass himself with the multitude of writers, but be assured that he has seized the traits that are at present, and will always be esteemed, characteristic of the litera-

ture of the age.—Of the writers, then, whose influence may be more or less discerned in the formation of the present taste and style, it may be sufficient to enumerate six: Melchior Cesarotti, Joseph Parini, Victor Alfieri, Hippolitus Pindemonte, Vincent Monti, and Hugo Foscolo. The three first are, it is true, no longer alive, but they clearly belong to the present day, and are no less to be taken into an actual survey than their surviving cotemporaries. There is nothing bold in pronouncing that these are decidedly the authors of the day; but it is an endeavour of great difficulty, and no little danger, to attempt to shew the specific reputation which each of them enjoys, and to describe their respective performances so as to give, on the whole, the acknowledged result of their effects upon the opinions of their countrymen. Such an effort has, however, been made in the following sketches of these distinguished Italians, and so much of their biography has been added as appeared serviceable in illustrating the motives that inspired, and the occasions that called forth, their various compositions.

CESAROTTI.

Melchior Cesarotti was a Paduan, and died, in extreme old age, in the year 1808. Bold,

fruitful, eloquent, and deeply versed in ancient and modern literature, this writer impressed his readers with the conviction of his genius: and yet, although he resembled no one of his predecessors or cotemporaries, there was something more of novelty than originality in all his compositions.

He was brought up in the ecclesiastical seminary of Padua, which prides itself, and with some justice, on the constancy and success with which it has preserved the latinity of the purer ages. Indeed the Latin verses of Cesarotti are a proof no less of his talents than of the merit of this celebrated institution, which, had he continued to pursue the same studies, would have produced a new rival of Vida or Fracastorius. But he no sooner entered into holy orders and quitted the seminary, than he declared war against the poets of antiquity, and, more especially, of Greece. An Englishman passing through Venice, made him acquainted with Ossian, at that time the delight, or at least the wonder, of the transalpine critics: and Cesarotti lost no time in translating it into blank verse, accompanying his version with notes, for the most part, against Homer. Ossian transported the Italians, who did not, generally speaking, embarrass themselves with the examination of the authenticity of the pretended

epic. Palmieri of Placentia, and a few others, ventured to contest the antiquity of the poet, but the mass of readers, seduced by the authority of Blair, or by their inclination to be pleased with their Italian Ossian, were resolved to discover the genuine son of Fingal in the spurious offspring of Macpherson. Some there were who still defended the heroes of the old school, and exclaimed against a precedent fatal to the reputation of the ancient models, and to the purity of the modern language. But they read the work and they admired the translator. His verses, in truth, are harmonious, are soft, are imbued with a colouring, and breathe an ardent spirit, altogether new; and, with the same materials, he has created a poetry that appears written in a metre and a language entirely different from all former specimens. His superiority was evinced by the want of success in those who endeavoured to imitate him, and whose exaggerations and caricatures were received with a ridicule that, by little and little, was attached to their model, and partially diminished his fame. The translation of Ossian will, however, be always considered as an incontrovertible proof of the genius of Cesarotti, and of the flexibility of the Italian tongue.

The reputation into which he thus leapt, as it were, at once, encouraged him to still bolder

innovations; and being raised to the Greek professorship in his own university of Padua, he translated Demosthenes and others of the Greek orators, subjoining criticisms full of learning and ingenuity, the chief aim of which was to convince the world that the veneration with which they read those orators was derived more from their antiquity than their intrinsic excellence.

His next work was a translation of the Iliad. But the magic of his Ossian was not transfused into his Italian Homer.

This work is in ten large octavo volumes: each book is translated literally into Italian prose, and almost every passage is illustrated by the compared opinions of the critics of every nation, from Aristarchus to those of our own days. He *invariably* cites the adversaries of Homer, and *often* opposes them with the partisans of the poet. When he subjoins his own decision, it very rarely inclines to the favour of his original.

To every book thus translated and commented upon, he adds his own poetical version, which, as it was intended to correct the errors discovered in the original, changes, omits, and transfers from one book to another, whole passages of the text. These alterations were so many and so material, that, in the end, he re-

solved to change the title of the poem, and his Iliad reappeared as the "*Death of Hector.*"

The bold style, and the harmonious numbers of this version, procured for it many readers, and the work was applauded by a public accustomed to admire the author. The journalists, who in Italy are frequently without learning, and almost always without genius, exalted the translation as an extraordinary and successful effort, and the harmony of the blank verse of the Death of Hector, became in a short time proverbial. But some few literary men of real merit and discernment, whose voice it is much more difficult totally to suppress in Italy than in any other country, prognosticated that the work, at some future day, would be more frequently cited than read. Their prophecy is now fully verified.

In his treatise on the Italian language, Cesarotti stepped forward to defend the privilege assumed by certain authors, of enriching, by new words and combinations, their native language. His positions are undeniable, his observations profound, and his deductions exceedingly just. The didactic form of his treatise has not deprived it of the elegance necessary for the attraction of his readers. The style is precise, yet ornamented: and very few authors have so happily combined the language of evi-

dence and of metaphysical disquisition; very few have made a grammatical discussion so alluring, or have arrayed materials so abstruse in eloquence so engaging. This is the only work of Cesarotti's that has preserved its original reputation up to this day. The author himself abused, however, the privilege which he claimed for all writers, and in one of the reviews then most esteemed in Italy, it was asserted that the preacher of liberty had awakened a spirit of licentiousness, and yet might easily raise himself to the dictatorship[1]. The truth was, that Cesarotti was, by his partisans, regarded as infallible, and was the terror of his opponents, whose censure was confined to the adoption of a practice contrary to his powerful example.

His prose is endowed with all the qualities that constitute a superior writer. The depth is no obstacle to the clearness of his ideas; his manner is free, his phraseology abundant, his periods are harmonious. He is lively, yet graceful; he is not so copious as to be tedious, nor so brief as to be obscure; he is full of pleasantry, which never degenerates into affectation, or is applied to the purposes of malicious

1 "Predicando la libertà letteraria aveva suscitato la licenza e però gli fu facile ad erigersi in dittatore." See Annali di scienze e lettere, An. 1811. Numero. iii. article on the Odyssey.

controversy. But those who were obliged, had they not been willing, to discover these excellencies in Cesarotti, were relieved from unqualified admiration, by finding that all of them were spoilt and rendered inefficient; in the first place, by the intemperate and systematic use of *gallicisms*; and, secondly, by their being lost upon discourses either critical or metaphysical, and such as could not interest the general reader. It was in his power to have furnished a model of the oratorical style in his translation of Demosthenes; but his deliberate purpose and all his efforts in this work were directed to fritter down his original, and, with this unaccountable design, he has affected a style scrupulously *Cruscan* and pedantic.

His Familiar Letters, published after his death, have discovered to us an excellence and a defect that might not be collected from his other writings: for they shew him to have been an indulgent encourager of the talents of others, as well as very liberal of his own information; but at the same time he appears so over prodigal of his praises as to incur the suspicion of premeditated flattery.

His conversation was distinguished by its eloquence and its amenity; his ideas were rapid and clear, and he gave a certain grace and embellishment to the most abstruse arguments.

He took delight in the education of those who attached themselves to his opinions, and were loyal to their literary faith, more especially when he discovered in them any signs of future excellence; and although he was far from rich, it was not unusual with him to receive his pupils as his domestic guests. His confidence went so far as to entrust them with his secrets. Nevertheless, notwithstanding his kind patronage, and their devoted attachment, his most constant disciples attained to no reputation: either because imitation is, in itself, incapable of rising above mediocrity, or because there was in the system of this great writer something rather pernicious than conducive to success. This circumstance, so painful for the head of a sect, did not, however, sour his temper, or diminish his regard. He was the same affectionate noble-minded man to the last, and his friends had just reason to praise him and to lament his loss.

His political conduct was not distinguished for its constancy. The revolution found him more than a sexagenary—devoted to literary pursuits—a priest—and one who had never wandered beyond the narrow confines of his native country, which for more than a century had enjoyed the most profound calm.

Bonaparte had read and re-read the Italian

Ossian, and at his first occupation of Padua he eagerly sent for Cesarotti, and named him one of the chiefs of the new government. Our author took that opportunity of publishing a small treatise on the rights and freedom of mankind, on the duties of the magistrate, and the character of the people. Three or four years afterwards the chances of war brought him into the hands of the Russians and the Austrians, and he was *forced*, if such an expression may be applied to such an exertion, to compose a short poem in praise of the victorious potentates.

Finally, when Bonaparte had become Emperor, and was again master of the Venetian states, he created Cesarotti a knight-commander of one of his orders, assigning to him, at the same time, a pension, which was meant to insure his gratitude and his praise. Napoleon was not mistaken; his pensioner published his poem, called *Pronéa*, or Providence, a most extravagant performance, where the style of Lucan, of Ossian, and of Claudian bewilders the reader, already lost amidst the mazes of metaphysics and of theological allegory. The work, from the first to the last page, was such as might be expected from a systematic innovator, from a devotee trembling on the brink of the grave, and from a poet who wrote by commission.

He survived this effort too short a time to

enjoy his pension, but not before his poem had been consigned to oblivion.

Had this writer been born in other times; had he expanded his ideas, and escaped from the circle of his own metaphysical speculations, by visiting other countries and mixing with other minds; had he encountered greater obstacles in his ascent to fame; but, above all, had he devoted himself to original composition, and made a more judicious use of his acquaintance with foreign literature, it is probable that Cesarotti would have taken a prominent place amongst the classical authors of his country. As it is, the Italians accuse his system, and accuse his example; but whilst they pronounce both the one and the other to have been highly prejudicial to his native literature, they are all willing to allow that he was possessed of great natural ability.

Angelo Mazza, the school-fellow and the friend of Cesarotti, may be fairly subjoined to a mention of that poet. He is still alive, and enjoys a green old age at Parma. His first essay was made in the year 1764, when he translated the Pleasures of the Imagination, and convinced the Italians that the compressed style of Dante was capable of being applied to their blank verse, which as yet was little more than a string of sonorous syllables.

The poetry published by him in a maturer age consists in great part of lyrical pieces on *Harmony*. They are to be found in two small volumes; and Saint Cecilia is the inspirer and patroness of two of his best odes. It was not likely that he should equal the invention of Dryden; he wisely, therefore, was contented with trying a version of that poet, and his translation of that lyrical masterpiece has the merit of having extended the fame of our laureate to every corner of Italy.

The imitations, and even the translations of Mazza, have a certain air of originality impressed not only on their style, which is extremely energetic, but even on the ideas which appear generally drawn from a metaphysical turn of mind. He excels much in the poetical array of abstract images, and what the Theodicea of Leibnitz is in prose, he sometimes contrives to execute in verse. In spite, however, of the inspired tone of some of his verses on the Universe, and the wisdom of the Creator, displayed, according to Mazza, in the harmony of all things, and notwithstanding he has represented this same harmony under aspects entirely new and beautiful, the poet has failed no less than all others who have attempted to embellish these sacred subjects, in keeping alive the interest of his reader, and has suc-

ceeded only in attracting the admiration of those who are delighted to see objections encountered and difficulties overcome. His odes are composed of stanzas, the melody of which is often sacrificed to what the musicians call *contrapunto*, which is calculated to surprise more than please, and he has even adopted those difficult rhymes which the Italians call *sdrucciole*, or slippery, and which not only lengthen the eleven syllabled verse into twelve syllables, but change the position of the accent, as appears from the following specimen extracted from the same Mazza:

A me le voci di concento gravide,
A me le forme dello stil Pindarico,
Date a me l'ispirata arpa di Davide.

The only work of Mazza which has been often printed, and has hit the taste of the Italians, is a poem in thirty pages, addressed to Cesarotti, in which he gives a masterly sketch of the great poets of every nation, and has placed the English on a distinguished eminence amongst the immortal brotherhood. It is only the women, who affect our endemic melancholy, and the younger readers, who occasion the immense demand for Young's Night Thoughts, translated as they are into poor verse, or ampullated prose; for the more enlightened Italians study Milton and Shakespeare.

Mazza is remarkable for the candour with

which he has treated his cotemporaries, even those attached to a system totally different from his own. This discretion, however, has not silenced the voice of criticism, and in spite of his own reserve, his partisans and his opponents have carried on a war of words, which is seldom to be equalled by English polemics, and is outrageous even in a country distinguished by the pedantry, the fury, and the illiberality of its literary quarrels. The foreigners who have by turns usurped the Italian provinces, have extended their claims to all the productions of that fruitful soil: not only the corn, and the wine, and the oil are put in requisition, but the tythe of the poetry is claimed by the conquerors. Mazza, in his quality of perpetual secretary of the academy of Parma, has composed the usual complimentary sonnets for the successive governments of his country, but he has cautiously avoided all political topics, and left his opinion still uncomprised and unknown.

It is generally reported that he has long finished, although he has never ventured to publish, a translation of Pindar. The Italians are impatient, but they are also fearful, for the result. The Greek poet has had many happy imitators in this country, and especially in the days of Chiabrera, of Filicaja, of Menzini, and of

Guidi; but his translators have failed here no less than in all other countries. Mazza, besides his poetical reputation, has the character of a scholar profoundly versed in ancient and modern languages, and the acquisition of the latter is the more singular, as he has never been out of Italy, and indeed has seldom quitted his native town.

JOSEPH PARINI.

Parini was almost the only Italian poet of the last century who dared to conceive, and certainly he was the only one who was capable of completing the project of directing the efforts of his art towards the improvement of his fellow-citizens. If by *moralizing his song* he has failed to correct his cotemporaries, he has, however, acquired a reputation much more valuable than can be the share of those whose talents are devoted solely to the amusement of the public.

His parents were peasants on the borders of the lake Pusiano, the Eupilis of Pliny, about twenty miles to the north of Milan. It is usual in Italy to choose from the poorest classes those destined to supply the humblest and most la-

berious duties in the church, whilst the valuable benefices are reserved for the younger sons of noble families. When one of these children of poverty shews signs of superior talent, the monks endeavour to attach him to their community, and the charity of the bishop provides him a gratuitous education. In this way Parini was sent to study in the capital of Austrian Lombardy. He applied to his scholastic pursuits until nearly his twentieth year, when his constitution, feeble from the beginning, almost sunk under an attack which took away the use of his lower limbs, and occasioned his retreat from the seminary in a condition that seemed to deprive him of all hopes of aspiring even to a country curacy. All that medical care, all that time could do for the improvement of his health, from his youth to the day of his death, barely enabled him to crawl along by the help of a stick, or by leaning on the arm of a friend.

Some of the verses published in his posthumous works, are painfully affecting, from the picture which they afford of the extreme indigence in which he languished even after he had arrived at years of maturity. His whole livelihood, and that of an aged mother, were derived from composing articles for a news-

paper. He speaks thus in requesting an intimate friend to send him relief:

La mia povera madre non ha pane
Se non da me, ed io non ho danaro
Da mantenerla almeno per domane[1].

He had already published some poetry which had dropt after the partial applauses that usually succeed the first essays of every author, that are not bad enough for ridicule, nor good enough for envy. Parini would never allow these specimens to be reprinted. It was not until his thirty-fifth year that he published the first canto of that poem, which rendered him formidable to the most powerful families around him, and established him in the eyes of the literary world as the founder of a new school in poetry. This poem is called the Day (*Il Giorno*), and is divided into four cantos—Morning (*Mattino*); Noon (*Meriggio*); Evening (*Vespro*); and Night (*Notte*)—and it contains a satirical description of the manner in which the Italian nobles contrive to waste away the four and twenty hours of an existence for the most part truly despicable. Before we enter into an examination of this poem, a word or two may be requisite on the author. The literary history

[1] Parini, Oper. vol. iii.

of every nation abounds with instances of the distresses and ill success of those endowed with the finest abilities; and it is a painful truth, that the union of the severest virtue with those abilities is no shield against the arrows of Fortune.

The case of Parini, however, is not to be confounded with these examples. Infirm, indigent, without the advantage of a regular education, struggling against the obscurity of his birth, and the disgrace of poverty, he lived in a city where the nobles are not only more rich, but are perhaps more haughty and more ignorant than in any other town in Italy. At that time they were important from their influence, direct and indirect, and formidable from the impunity with which they could give a loose to their revenge.

It is universally known, that before the revolution the Italian nobles enjoyed a sort of prescriptive right of employing assassins; but it is more wonderful still, that at this day, and in the face of the new *noblesse*, created by Bonaparte, there is not a single instance of the daughter or wife of any but those in possession of ancient titles being admitted to the ball-room or drawing-room of a Milanese Patrician. The same absurd distinction prevails at Turin. At Venice, at Bologna, at Florence, at Rome,

the exclusion is not so strictly observed, and a few young females of the middling ranks are allowed to stand in the same dance with the daughters of barons and of counts.

Such was the state of society that Parini undertook to correct. And this difficult, this dangerous task he adventured upon, by boldly reproaching the nobles with their vices and their crimes. He raised his own reputation by the depression of a whole order, which, in spite of their being essentially more despicable than in any other country of Europe, were, owing to the ignorance and extreme poverty of the lower classes, in fact more respectable. The care taken by Parini to conceal his personal allusions, could not prevent the discovery that his portraits were all drawn from living characters; and if his originals recognised their likeness only now and then, the public were never mistaken. There was not a single Milanese who did not see, in the chief personage of the poem, the Prince Belgiojoso, of the reigning family of Este, the eldest brother of the Field Marshal of the same name, who was Austrian Ambassador at our court, and Governor of the Low Countries.

It should be here observed, to the honour of Parini, and indeed of the Italian authors in general, that, let a work be ever so much ad-

mired, it never brings the writer money enough to defray the expense of the first edition. There is but a very limited number of readers in Italy; and though a work may receive from their applause a character which secures the esteem of the whole nation, a multitude of purchasers, such as we are accustomed to, is not to be procured by any merit, or any accident. Twelve hundred names to a subscription are reckoned an extraordinary instance of public patronage, and it is hazardous to demand more than three francs (half a crown) for any new production in a single volume under the quarto size. The copyright law can hardly exist in a country divided into so many small governments, and the booksellers find it no difficult matter to elude the prosecutions, which must be transferred from one state to another before they can be brought before any competent tribunal. After the revolution, an effort was made to correct this abuse; but it was found almost impossible to change the practice of a whole class of tradesmen, long habituated to consider all literary profits their own, and to esteem every mercenary art a fair branch of speculation.

Those accustomed to the liberality of English publishers, which affords a decent subsistence to those whose talents and whose fame do not rise above mediocrity, will hardly believe that

the best authors in Italy think themselves fortunate if they find a publisher to take the expense of printing off their hands. In that country the booksellers are also printers, and have it in their power to multiply indefinitely the copies of any edition, without accounting for the accruing profits. The swearing of the printer, and our other protections of literary property, are unpractised and unknown.

Alfieri, in a sort of preface, in verse, prefixed to the second edition of his tragedies, complains that his eagerness for renown has cost him a portion of his health, of his intellects, of his peace of mind, and, above all, of his fortune; the latter having been sacrificed to the rapacity of the bookseller.

Profonder tutto in linde stampe il mio,
E per che altri mi compri, accattar io:
Soffrire il revisor che l'uomo strazia;
Appiccicarmi i masnadier libraj
Che a credenza ricevon e fan grazia
Nè metallo per foglio rendon mai.

There were, however, certain coincidences favourable to the bold project of Parini. A sort of colony of French Encyclopedists had settled at Milan, and four or five Patricians having taken to reading, dared also to disseminate in writing the principles of the approaching revolution. The Marquis Beccaria

had recently published his work on Crimes and Punishments, which effected an important change in the criminal jurisprudence of his own country, and extended its beneficial influence to many other nations, where torture prevailed, and was consequently abolished. Joseph II. had himself began those innovations, which ended by diminishing the preponderating influence of the Lombard nobles. Count Firmian, the governor of those provinces, when questioned as to the publication of the poem of Parini, exclaimed, " Let him make haste; we want it mightily!"—*Qu'il se hâte, nous en avons une necessité extrême.*

In addition to such a powerful ally, Parini was backed by all the middling classes of society, which, generally speaking, are certainly the most moral and the most enlightened portion of civilized mankind. Some individuals amongst them having quarrelled with the church-rectors of certain collegiate establishments, found in Parini a champion who overwhelmed their adversaries with a few strokes of his pen. Parini published a pamphlet on that occasion, which, in the cooler hours of revision, appeared to him too violent and he would not suffer it to proceed to a second edition: but this work introduced him to notice before the publication of his poem, and those whose cause he

had advocated, continued his friends to the last moments of his melancholy existence.

The *Day* is in one continued strain of irony, from the first line to the last. The author assumes the character of preceptor to a nobleman, and teaches him how to devote his morning to the toilette, his noon to the serious occupations of the table, his afternoon to the public walks, and his night to the *Conversazioni*. The most frivolous actions, the most contemptible vices, the most ridiculous follies, and sometimes the most atrocious crimes, are detailed with minuteness, and always with the pretext of recommendation. The "Advice to Servants" is carried into the highest departments of society, and a magnificence of diction and of images is tastefully employed, instead of the familiar tone of Swift, to pourtray the luxury and the pride which the Italian nobility carefully wrap round the naked wretchedness of their hearts.

The variety of the objects, and the numerous portraits of individuals, all in the higher classes, of every age and sex, engage the attention, whilst the faithful and fine-spun description of manners keeps alive the curiosity of the reader. The poet has shewn no little address in contrasting the effeminacy of the actual race of nobles, and the industry and the courage of

their ancestors, who, in the middle ages, restored the civilization of the South, and, with unshaken constancy, defended the liberties of the Italian republics. This contrast naturally transported Parini to the days of Romance; and the wild life of the military patricians, the old castles, and the glittering arms of the half barbarous ages, were a happy relief for the silken barons, the palaces, and the embroidered suits of his cotemporaries, whom it was necessary to amuse in order to instruct. The ruins of dungeons and towers neglected by the heirs of those who raised them, enabled the poet to employ his fancy in restoring them to their ancient splendour, and he thus threw in those sombre shades and colourings which the Germans afterwards appropriated to themselves, and were believed to have formed a new and national school of poetic fiction.

With this mixture of romance Parini also recurred to the characters and allegories of the old mythology, the favourite resource of the Italians, who still think it the only fabulous system whose images combine the truth of real nature with the charms of ideal grace. But even in this department of his art, which an Englishman would abandon as hopeless, our author contrived to give an air of reality to his

classical fables, by applying them to the practices and principles of his own times. Thus it is that his Cupid and Hymen are introduced. They are engaged in a war to all appearance interminable, but they agree to treat, and peace is made on condition that Cupid shall reign all day, and Hymen all night. An English reader would not be much struck with this invention; but whoever meets a handsome Italian matron, decently pacing between her husband and her Cavalier Servente, will instantly remember the Love and Hymen of Parini, and the graceful solemn air with which his verses march majestically along.

Our own nation can hardly have a just idea of this species of poetry. The Italians who admire it the most compare it to the Georgics; and the *Giorno* has certainly more than one property in common with the poem of Virgil. Both the one and the other are employed in dignifying topics essentially common and familiar. Both one and the other display their poetical vigour in frequent episodes; and the Italian perhaps has gone less out of his way for those embellishments than the Latin poet. It was the misfortune, not the fault, of Parini, that he could not employ the hexametral structure; and owing, partly to the same defect of

language, and partly, perhaps, to real inferiority, he was not able to adorn every picture with those images, nor lend to every word that harmony, which are the constituent excellence of Virgil. If Parini's style does not rival that of Virgil, it is some comfort for the Italians to think, that their poet has approached that great master nearer than any other follower.

"——— longo sed proximus intervallo."

His countrymen are, besides, hardy enough to suppose, that in the grouping, in the invention, in the connexion of all the parts with the whole, the pictures of the *Giorno* are superior to those of the Georgics. It is not, certainly, too hazardous to assert, that no one can learn farming from the verses of Virgil, but that much instruction may be gained by avoiding the follies which characterise the hero of Parini. If the Sopha of Cowper were a little more varied, and tinctured with satire, it would, in the domestic details, and the easy flowing versification, be a tolerable counterpart of the Giorno —at least we cannot furnish a stronger resemblance.

The versification of Parini is not altogether unlike the Latin, and is entirely different from that of the other authors who in this age particu-

larly distinguished themselves by trying every variety with which they could rival each other, and improve the structure of Italian verse. This has been already remarked in the articles on Cesarotti and Mazza, and the same truth will be deduced from the subsequent notices of this essay. The imagery, the expressions, the numbers, the very words of Parini, have a certain solemnity which they never altogether lay aside; and the melody and change of tone so conspicuous in the soft and varied descriptions of the Greek and Latin epics, are, in the verses of the Italian poet, not so much recognised at once, as they are imperceptibly felt by the reader.

It may be sufficient to give a short example of the distinction here alluded to. The poet conducts his hero to the public walks: the time chosen is the night-fall: he leaves his mistress alone in her carriage, and slipping through the crowd, steals quietly into the carriage of another lady, who has also been abandoned by her Cavalier. Such a scene required some delicacy to pourtray. A loose or a careless poet would hardly steer clear of indecent images: but Parini is not less adroit with his carriage and his night, than is Virgil with the cave and the storm, that were so fatal to the happiness of Dido. He invokes the goddess of Darkness

with his usual irony, and prays her to arrest her progress, that he may contemplate at leisure the exploits of his chosen hero.

" ——— Ma la Notte segue
Sue leggi inviolabili, e declina
Con tacit' ombra sopra l' emispero;
E il rugiadoso piè lenta movendo,
Rimescola i color varj, infiniti,
E via gli sgombra con l' immenso lembo
Di cosa in cosa: e suora de la morte
Un aspetto indistinto, un solo volto,
Al suolo a i vegetanti a gli animali
A i grandi ed a la plebe equa permette;
E i nudi insieme e li dipinti visi
Delle belle confonde, e i cenci, e l' oro:
Nè veder mi concede all' aer cieco
Qual de cocchj si parta o qual rimanga
Solo all' ombre segrete: e a me di mano
Tolto il penello, il mio Signore avvolge
Per entro al tenebroso umido velo."

Nevertheless it is evident that this kind of poetry, beautiful as it is, and recalling to us some of the most delicate passages of the Rape of the Lock, is addressed rather to the imagination than to the heart. Yet Parini has occasionally proved himself a master of the pathetic, and he calls forth tears of regret when he shews us a servant, after twenty years of faithful attachment, dismissed, persecuted, and reduced to beggary, for no other offence than slightly

beating a favourite dog that had bit him. We may be here reminded of some of the efforts of Mr. Crabbe, when he is most harmonious and most tender: but the Italian awakes, by the same picture, feelings more allied to indignation than to pity, and his sleepless irony somewhat fatigues the attention, and helps to counteract the general effect. The perpetual aggrandisement and decoration of objects, in themselves little and mean, display a curious felicity, and succeed in exciting the proposed ridicule; but the effect diminishes as the effort is continued, and concludes in being mistaken for affectation. A single pebble set tastefully in diamonds may amuse the spectator, but a whole cabinet of such curiosities would hardly be worth attention or examination.

Another deficiency will be apparent to the foreign reader of Parini. The poet never saw any other city than Milan. His infirmities and his poverty confined him entirely at home. It was thus impossible that he should not give too much importance to objects which those accustomed to a wider sphere of action would consider unworthy of regard. It was natural, also, for the same reason, that his style, formed altogether on the classical writers, should occasionally degenerate into pedantry. What could be performed by an exquisite and culti-

vated taste has been done by Parini, but he is not to be classed with the inspired poets. The great defect of the *Giorno* is the little interest excited by the hero of the poem, who is contemptible from his entrance to his exit. Yet even this capital objection seldom occurs to those absorbed in admiration at the effect produced by the address and execution of the author.

The great merit of Parini lies in the dignity, not only of his style, but of his conduct in wielding the weapons of satire. His poem has nothing of that impotent rage against the powerful, of that invidious detraction of the wealthy, of that plaintive accusation against patronage and ingratitude, which have been the favorite topics of all satirists, from Horace to the English Imitator of Juvenal. The vices of the great he contemplates with a pity worthy the noblest of their own order; he does not indulge himself with epigrams; he never degenerates into obscenity; he will not condescend to be the buffoon, nor to administer to the bad passions of the multitude.

There is a grandeur in the expression of his censures which casts, as it were, a shield between those whom he condemns, and the anger and hatred of the people. He respects human nature; he is not misanthropic; and he takes

care to attribute the depravity of the nobles to their total idleness. Throughout his whole satire he shows himself bent upon the generous project of repairing the disgrace of his country, and never incurs the suspicion that he would only satisfy his private animosities.

Soon after the appearance of this poem, all those of easy circumstances in the middle classes, and the few patricians who, being addicted to literary pursuits, were the natural opponents of the great body of the nobles, interested themselves with the Austrian government in providing for Parini. They persuaded that government to found a professorship of eloquence expressly for their favourite, who justified the high expectations entertained of him; and, by his efforts in his new capacity, gave a stability to his rising reputation. He was indeed by nature qualified more than any one, perhaps, of his cotemporaries, to give lessons on the *belles lettres*, and to perform that task in a way totally different from that usually employed in the Italian schools. There was a gravity, and at the same time an ease, in his eloquence, which enabled him to cite the examples of former great writers with a powerful effect, and to illustrate them with new and brilliant observations. He applied the various theories of the sublime and beautiful not only to the pro-

ductions of the pen, but to all the creations of nature; and many of his cotemporaries, already in possession of literary renown, were not ashamed to put themselves to the school of Parini. Those persons, and readers in general, were perhaps surprised to find, when they came to peruse his dissertations in print, that the ideas, although just, were seldom very profound: that a clear method, a chaste style, and an ingenious view of the subject, were their chief merit; but that the flow of words, the soul, the fire of expression and sentiment, had vanished with the delivery, and that the genius, and even the polished correctness of the poet, were not to be recognised in the discourses of the rhetorician.

Parini was so painfully scrupulous, and at the same time so idle a writer, that he never published more than the two first cantos of his poem, the whole of which does not amount to four thousand lines. The two last cantos were published after his death, and they contain several half-finished verses, a great many variations, and two large chasms, which a long life was, it seems, too short to enable him to fill up to his satisfaction. This severity of taste he applied to others as well as to himself; and it was his favourite expression, when speaking even of Virgil and Horace, "*We should study them in those passages*

where they are not mortal men like ourselves." From such a master the youth of Milan imbibed a delicacy of taste bordering upon affectation, and these scruples were easily cherished in a people less given to poetry than any other of the inhabitants of Italy. Indeed Parini himself is the only distinguished poet that this city has produced from the revival of letters to the present day.

In addition to this individual propensity, it may be remarked that a severity of judgment prevails more or less with all the Italians, who are, as it were, saturated with poetry, and are besides accustomed to disregard the matter in comparison with the manner of metrical expression—a feeling deducible from the surpassing variety and beauty and strength of their language. Add to this that they judge all modern compositions with a reference to their most ancient poets, whom they worship with a veneration almost superstitious.

Parini was not remarkable for his erudition, and knew but very little Greek. He could not write Latin, but he felt all the beauties of the Roman writers, and made them perceptible to his audience. His favourite Italian studies were Dante, Ariosto, and the *Aminta* of Tasso; yet he imitated none of these great writers; and it may be said of him as of our own

Swift, that it would be difficult to point out a single idea that he has borrowed from his predecessors. He may be called an imitator, inasmuch as he sedulously traced back to their great constituent causes the effects produced by the old writers, and then made use of his discovery; but his manner is altogether his own; is inspired by his own genius, and attempered by his own inexorable taste. He followed the rule of Horace which inculcates the sacrifice of every thought, however noble, which is found incapable of embellishment; and he renounced the adoption of those beauties, which vulgar readers are apt to call natural, but which in fact are obvious and common-place.

Treatises upon the fine arts, and more particularly the lives of celebrated artists, were his favourite and constant study. Amongst the few books which he possessed at the time of his death, his executors found two copies of *Vasari's Biography*, both of them worn away by repeated perusal. He never applied either to drawing or to music, but he was perfectly well acquainted with the theory, and sensible to the charms, of both, and the most celebrated professors had frequent recourse to his advice. His posthumous works furnish us with the ideas, the composition, and even the details of several pictures which he had communi-

cated to distinguished artists, and which are now to be seen, faithfully executed according to his directions, in many of the palaces at Milan. Parini employed, indeed, his whole life in carrying into practice the maxim that *poetry should be painting;* for, with the exception of Dante, the other Italian poets have only occasional pictures: all the rest is but description. Parini effected by dint of meditation that which was the natural production of the wonderful genius of Dante, and it would be difficult to point out ten consecutive lines in the poem of the Milanese from which a painter might not extract a complete picture, with all the requisite varieties of attitude and expression.

Parini also published in his lifetime about twenty odes, of which the Italians consider *four* as inimitable, six or seven of the others tolerable, and the remainder absolutely bad. The whole of them bear a nearer resemblance to those of Horace than of Pindar, but neither of them has a shadow of likeness with the lyric poetry of Petrarch, or of Chiabrera, or of Guidi. Not only the style, but even the language appears quite different. It is his constant practice here, as in the *Giorno*, to avoid detailed descriptions, and to throw out his images in mass and at one stroke of his pencil.

He has also the same object in view; namely, the correction of national manners.

The ode addressed to a young woman of eighteen, who had adopted the Parisian fashion, then called "*robe à la guillotine,*" is written in a style more than usually intelligible for a foreign reader. The beauty and the innocence of the maiden are presented under colours that contrast admirably with the depravity of mind and manners which the poet foresees must be the consequence of imitating so vile an example.

" Da scellerata scure
Tolto è quel nome; infamia
Del secolo spietato
E diè funesti augurii
Al femminile ornato
E con le truci Eumenidi
Le care Grazie avvinse
E di crudele immagine
La tua bellezza tinse.

He digresses to the history of the ancient Roman females, from the earliest times to those days of cruelty and corruption when they thronged the gladiatorial shows, and a Vestal gave the signal for the slaughter.

Potè all' alte patrizie
Come alla plebe oscura
Giocoso dar solletico
La soffrente natura.

Che più? Baccanti e cupide
D'abbominando aspetto
Sol dall' uman pericolo
Acuto ebbe diletto,
E da i gradi e da i circoli
Co' moti e con le voci
Di già maschili, applausero
A i duellanti atroci:
Creando a sè delizia
E de le membra sparte,
E de gli estremi aneliti,
E del morir con arte.

The poet has contrived that the progress of his ideas shall correspond with the gradual corruption with which the imprudent imitation of novelty seduces by little and little the incautious female into the worst practices of debauchery.

The biographer of Parini, who has furnished the greater portion of the preceding account, has been accused of swelling out the works of his author into six volumes, although those published during his lifetime scarcely occupy two hundred pages [1].

It may be added, that of all the posthumous works, the two last cantos of his *Giorno* is the only one which deserved to be rescued from that obscurity to which they had been consigned by their scrupulous author.

[1] See—Opere di Giuseppe Parini, publicate ed illustrate da Francesco Reina, vol. vi. in 8vo. Milano, 1801.

Not that they are deficient in affording instruction to those who delight in the study of human nature, and love to watch the developement of the mind. The odes which are reckoned Parini's best were composed in his old age; and such of the verses as appear in their first form, and as were not intended for publication, are remarkable chiefly for their good sense, and for their unaffected taste. But their imagery is not abundant; their style has little warmth, and the turns are common-place and trite. They enable us then to form some conception of the time and thought employed in the elevation and constant support of a style which frequently borders upon sublimity. His commerce with mankind laid open to him the most secret recesses of the heart, and furnished him with that acquaintance with our natural foibles of which he discovers so intimate a knowledge in his principal poem, and in his odes. In the same manner his continued and minute contemplation of nature in all her varieties furnished him with the beauties necessary for his poetical purposes, and enabled him to recognise their recurrence in the old classical writers, and to demonstrate their existence to others.

The result of study and cultivation was never more conspicuous than in the example of

Parini. It had all the appearance, and produced all the effect of genius: and yet his was, doubtless, one of those minds rather capable of culture, than naturally fruitful. The soil might have brought forth none but barren plants, had not care, and labour, and patience, qualifiedit to receive the seed, and supply the nourishment of the richest productions.

The Milanese nobles did not dare to revenge themselves openly for the boldness of Parini. There is a story current of an attempt to assassinate him, but this, perhaps, is an invention suggested by the ancient manners of Italy. His enemies took another course. The emoluments of his professorship amounted only to 3000 francs, a little more than one hundred pounds a year.

Leopold II., on a visit to Milan, was struck with the physiognomy of an old man, lame, and moving slowly along, but with an air of dignity. He asked his name, and being told that it was Parini, ordered the municipal council to increase his pension sufficiently to enable him to keep a small carriage. But the verbal command of a foreign monarch is seldom strictly obeyed in distant provinces, where the nobles have an interest or a will distinct from their duty. Parini continued without any other prop than his stick. The poet whom the Milanese pointed

out to strangers as the pride and glory of their city, was often pushed into the dirt, and was repeatedly near being run over by the carriages, in streets where there is no pavement for foot passengers.

In an ode, which he calls the *Caduta*, the *Fall*, he describes the accidents which happened to him in rainy and foggy days; and although this production is not in the first rank of his poetry, it can never be perused without delight, nor be quoted without exciting our admiration at the profound pathos, the honest pride, and the philosophy with which it abounds.

The French, on their arrival in Italy, soon understood the active part which the literary classes had played in the revolution. They employed many of these individuals, and amongst others Parini, who found himself all at once amongst the chiefs of the republican government, with no other qualification or capital for such an elevation, than what was derived from a love of liberty, a habit of speaking the truth, an unbending character, and a total disregard of all selfish interests. He felt the embarrassment of his situation, and having often spoken harshly to the French generals, it was not difficult for him to obtain permission to retire, after a few weeks of thankless employment.

His name and his integrity commanded respect, and the opposition of a whole life against the nobles, made him regarded by all the lower classes as the great partizan of the democracy. This influence was not lost even when he opposed the follies of the populace. They still shew a square at Milan, opposite to the great theatre, which was one day filled by a large mob of idle fellows, who ran about crying, "*Long life to the Republic—death to the Aristocrats!*" Parini issued from a coffee-house and exclaimed, "*Viva la Republica—e morte a nessuno; Canaglia stolta!*" The crowd instantly dispersed. Whatever may be the honours acquired by poetry in England, we cannot form an idea of the influence enjoyed by a man who has obtained a great literary reputation in a country where the largest portion of the people cannot read. He is listened to with a sort of religious obedience.

The circles at Milan were afraid of every word that might drop from Parini, and he now and then abused his acknowledged ascendancy. But his intolerance never extended to his friends: with them he was indulgent to the last degree, and his severity was laid aside for a sort of infantine joviality. He was pleased with the company of those young people who were distinguished by the fire, the frankness,

and the *etourderie* of their age: but he was incensed somewhat extravagantly against those who either affected, or were naturally inclined to, gravity. He was complaisant and affable to strangers who came, even without introduction, to visit him; but if they unfortunately ventured to praise him, they did not escape without a reprimand, and found his door shut against them ever afterwards.

His philosophy, strengthened as it was by the useful alliance of disease and age, did not, however, defend him against the attacks of love; and the odes written towards the end of his life, are sufficient proof that he never looked upon female charms with impunity. He confesses this truth, and perhaps has adopted the safest course to avoid ridicule, by declaring openly, that his good genius, which had preserved him from the tortures of ambition and avarice, had still left him accessible to the soft torment of the most tender and most disinterested of all the passions[1].

Those high-born dames who were often the objects of his affection and of his poetry, were much flattered by his preference, and forgave him all that he had said of their husbands and

[1] See the two most celebrated odes, *Il Messaggio*, and *Il Pericolo*.

of their *Cavalieri Serventi*. With these he never made peace. And although he was an inmate in many great houses, he staid not a moment after he saw that he was required to submit to condescensions incompatible with his principles, and unbecoming his character. After all that has been said of the liberality of the great, it is clear that the precedence granted to genius does not commence during the lifetime even of the most fortunate writer. It was by a noble perseverance that Parini, indigent, unknown, imperfect, and perpetually boasting of his paternal plough, succeeded so far as to make himself respected by those powerful classes whose vices he decried; and maintained the dignity of his character and calling in a country where flattery, common as it is elsewhere, is found more base and abject amongst the men of letters than in the other orders, where the poets are very often the buffoons of their society, and where the tutors of boys of rank are confounded with the domestics of the family. At the time that almost all the Italian *rhymesters*, an innumerable class, were dedicating their canzoni and their sonnets to their respective patrons, Parini refused to recite a single verse at the table of any great man[1].

[1] See the ode entitled *La Recita de' Versi*.

He is to be exactly recognised in the portrait which he has given of himself.

> " Me, non nato a percotere
> Le dure illustri porte,
> Nudo accorrà, ma libero,
> Il Regno della morte[1]."

He preserved his dignity and his poverty, the strength of his mind and the powers of his genius, to his seventieth year. He had been employed a few days in projecting some verses[2], and one morning he dictated them to a friend. Having read them over, he said that he was satisfied with them, and begged his friend to get them printed. He then retired into his bedchamber, and, in half an hour afterwards, expired.

VICTOR ALFIERI.

The life of this author has been written by himself. His tragedies have been criticised in every European language. There still remain some notices on his death, and some opinions on his other works, which may be new to the English reader.

His connexion with the Countess of Albany is known to all the world, but no one is ac-

[1] See his ode *La Vita Rustica.*

[2] It is the last copy of verses at page 44 of the second volume of Parini's works.

quainted with the secret of that long intercourse. If they were ever married, Alfieri and the Countess took as much pains to conceal that fact, as is usually bestowed upon its publicity. Truth might have been spoken on the tomb of the poet, but even there we only find that Louisa, Countess of Albany, was his *only love*—"quam unice dilexit"—A church, perhaps, was not the place to boast of such a passion; but after every consideration we may conclude, that the Abate Caluso, who wrote the epitaph, and received the last sighs of Alfieri, knew, and did not choose to tell, that his friend was never married to the widow of Charles Edward Stewart—"*Tacendo clamat*"—his silence is eloquent.

Alfieri, in the languor of a protracted agony, which the presence of Caluso assisted him to support, received the last visit of a priest, who came to confess him, with an affability for which he was not distinguished in the days of his health: but he said to him, "Have the kindness to look in to-morrow; I trust that death will wait for twenty-four hours." The ecclesiastic returned the next day. Alfieri was sitting in his arm-chair, and said, "At present, I fancy, I have but a few minutes to spare:" and turning towards the Abbé, entreated him to bring the Countess to him. No sooner did

he see her than he stretched forth his hand, saying, "clasp my hand, my dear friend, I die[1]."

The religious opinions of Alfieri cannot be collected from his writings. His tragedies contain here and there a sarcasm against the Popes, and in his fugitive pieces may be found some epigrams against the monastic orders, but more particularly against the cardinals. Not a word, however, has ever escaped him against the Christian doctrines. It is only upon close inspection that we find, in a treatise on tyranny, that auricular confession, and the indissolubility of marriage, have contributed to the enslavement of Italy. His latter years were divided between a haughty irascibility and a deep melancholy, which afflicted him by turns, to a degree which rendered him scarcely accountable for his actions. Alfieri was then not unfrequently seen in the churches from vespers to sunset, sitting motionless, and apparently wrapt up in listening to the psalms of the monks, as they chanted them from behind the skreen of the choir. The way in which he died would, however, lead us to conjecture, that his meditations were not those of religion, and that he chose such a retreat in search of that solemn

[1] Stringetemi, cara amica! la mano, io muojo.

tranquillity which alone promised him a temporary repose from the relentless furies that preyed upon his heart:

> Due fere Donne, anzi due Furie atroci
> Tor' non mi posso—ahi misero!—dal fianco;
> Ira e Malinconia.

The complaint is from one of his own sonnets. He printed, during his own life, but he could never be persuaded to publish, some prose works, and amongst them the treatise before mentioned, "*Della Tirannide*," and another entitled, "*Il Principe e le Lettere*." They are in two small volumes. The first is a series of close arguments and severe remarks against monarchy. The second is written to prove, that poets, historians, and orators, can flourish only amongst a free people, and that tyranny is interested in the advancement only of the sciences, and more especially of medicine and jurisprudence. In both these works he has shewn that his address lay chiefly in the vigor of his attack; his preparations for defence were less skilfully disposed. Indeed, he seems to forget that he was liable to a retort. Thus it is that he may confirm the partisans of freedom, but he cannot hope to make a convert from the opposite opinion.

The Italians look upon the prose of Alfieri

as a model of style, particularly on political subjects. It is simple and energetic; his ideas are not abundant, but they are clear and precise, and connected according to the exactest rules of reasoning. It corresponds well with a metaphor employed for its description by one of his own countrymen—"I suoi pensieri in prosa sono non tanto vagamente dipinti quanto profondamente scolpiti." His language is pure, and founded upon that of the oldest writers, but is free from the pedantry and the rust of antiquity. No man, therefore, was more qualified than Alfieri for the translation of Sallust. In fact, his version of that historian is reckoned a masterpiece.

He tells us, in his preface, that this translation cost him many years of painful application. The whole of his works, indeed, bear the mark not only of laborious effort, but of retouching, repeated, and indefatigable. In the latter half of his own memoir, he had not time to be equally scrupulous, and that part is written in a style occasionally careless, and in a language not always remarkably correct.

Alfieri, however, was not born to be the translator of Virgil. Could perseverance have obtained his object, his success was certain; for he sat down to his task with the same constancy with which he commenced pupil in the Greek

language, after he had passed his fortieth ye
He translated the whole of the Æneid thr
times over; and yet the version published aft
his death, generally speaking, gives us but t
contents of Virgil. The harmony, the glowi
style, have no representative in the Italian epi
Alfieri was a perfect master of his languag
his words were admirably adapted to the e
pression of sentiments which flowed warm fro
his heart; but which, being invariably animat
by the same ardent temperature, absorbed h
imagination, and left no room for those fin
and varied graces which constitute the char
of poetry. Above all, he was extremely de
cient in that branch of his art, in which his o
ginal is so consummate a master—the elevatic
of a mean subject by the happy use of met
phor. He could not

"Throw about his manure with dignity."

This must appear the more surprising, sinc
the Italian language is essentially metaphorica
and is by that very quality capable of bein
adapted to such an astonishing variety of style
according to the invention, the taste and th
imagination of each succeeding writer.

Alfieri was not quite so unfortunate in h
translation of Terence; but even there his sin
plicity is studied, not natural; and even in h

happiest effort he betrays the secret that he had no genius for comic writing.

The six comedies found amongst his posthumous works are compositions extravagant in the extreme. It is possible that some may admire them for their originality: but the sober reader is much more astonished at the perseverance with which the poet pursued such unprofitable labour. One only, entitled *The Divorce*, is a satire on Italian marriages. The others cannot possibly be adapted to the theatre. They are in the manner of Aristophanes, and all turn on political subjects. The *One (L'Uno)* is a satire against monarchy. The Few *(I Pochi)*, and The Too Many *(I Troppi)*, attack the aristocratic and the popular government. A fourth is meant to teach that the One, the Few, and the Too Many, should be mixed together, and may then compose a system somewhat tolerable.

The other comedy, called *Il Finestrino*, is a satire partly against religious impostors; but more against the philosophers who invent no good religion, but yet would destroy all the old creeds, although (so thinks Alfieri) a bad one is better than none at all. One of the principal persons of the drama is Mahomet.

The verse and the language of these comedies are still more extravagant than their ori-

ginal conception. In short, they are seldom read, and are regarded, except by a very few, as unworthy the genius of Alfieri.

His posthumous works contain also some translations from the ancient dramatic writers; the *Frogs*, the *Persians*, the *Philoctetes*, and the *Alceste*. To the latter he added another play of his own composition on the same subject, and formed exactly on the Greek model. He pleased himself with the innocent assertion that the new Alceste was a translation from a recovered manuscript, which might fairly be attributed to Euripides. It is the happiest of his latter efforts, and is only not fit for the modern stage. In the closet it affects us by that pathetic tenderness with which Alfieri either could not or would not embellish his other tragedies, constructed as they were expressly for the purpose of bracing the relaxed vigour of his effeminate fellow-countrymen.

With this noble design he composed a sort of drama, altogether new, which he called a *melo-tragedy*. His object here was to unite the music which the Italians look upon as a constituent part of the theatre, with the grandeur and pathos of tragedy. He chose the *Death of Abel* for his subject, and he adopted that repeated change of scene which his countrymen would have regarded as a monstrous innova-

tion, although it is one of the characteristics of their opera.

Angels and demons are part of the persons of the drama, and are the singers of the play. The poetry of their songs is composed in different metres. Adam, Eve, and their two sons also discourse in verse, but in blank verse, and without music. This composition has some brilliant passages; but is, on the whole, devoid of interest. As an experiment it would perhaps be unproducible on the Italian stage, where the opera has formally excluded all display of ideas or sentiments, and almost of words, and is solely devoted to the musician and the ballet master.

The satires of Alfieri will cherish the melancholy of every unwilling member of human society. They are directed against every condition. Kings and nobles, rich and poor, priests and philosophers, physicians, lawyers, merchants, none are exempt; all of them, in fact, are made the subject, and furnish the title of a separate censure. The satirist is free from personality, and even all individual allusion; he strives no farther than to convince his reader, that whatever may be his place or pursuit, he runs a great risk of being unhappy, and wicked, and contemptible. Of the women alone he says nothing good, and nothing bad. His

satire on them is contained in a very few verses, and resolves itself into the maxim, that the stronger is responsible for all the vices of the weaker sex.

There are, however, certain of his satires which are recommendable from their wit, and from their acquaintance with human nature. We may select the *Cavaliere Servente Veterano*, *I Pedanti*,—*L'Educazione*—and *Il Duello*. In the latter he steps forward, like another Johnson, in defence of a practice necessary for the protection of the man of honour, from the intrigues, and calumnies, and assaults of the coward and the bully. Another of the same class, *I Viaggi*, is devoted to the censure of *himself*, and of the nobility, and of those who travel for want of occupation.

This satire is in *terza rima*, and is the best specimen of that harshness of versification which the warmest admirers of Alfieri allow to be indefensible. He was seduced into this error by a wish to shun the opposite defect which characterised the poets of the preceding generation. The plant had been so warped and drawn to the earth on one side by Metastasio, that Alfieri thought he could never recover its position without bending it backwards as much on the other. The tree is not yet upright. Yet his strange words, and his capricious innovations

in phraseology, profusely as they are spread over his satires and his comedies, will be forgotten or forgiven, and the force and purity of his diction will ever recommend the prose of Alfieri to the study of his countrymen. It is worthy of remark, that the Paris edition of his tragedies, which he printed at the press of Didot, is *partially* exempt from that harshness of versification observable in all his former editions.

The errors of a man of genius are not unfrequently of service to the cause of literature. Mr. Bellotto, in his translation of Sophocles, chose Alfieri for his model, as far as regarded his method and general style; but he softened the diction; he harmonised the numbers of his prototype, and thus succeeded in producing a work which had been long expected, and often essayed in vain.

Alfieri, a little after the year 1790, and before his return to Italy, printed at Kell some specimens of lyrical poetry in two volumes. The first contains an ode on the taking of the Bastille, and a poem, comprising five odes on the emancipation of America. The one addressed to Washington is the best; but bespeaks, after all, only the originality of the poet. It no less shews that he had misdirected his genius; for

his ode is in the same harsh, dry style which spoils his translation of Virgil. The eulogist of America could not be expected to spare the English; but his dislike was confined to the minister of the day—the nation which he has praised so often in his memoirs he did not degrade in his poetry. Indeed his ode on the Bastille contains an appendix with which we cannot but be content. This is a short apologue, in which the English are the *bees*, the French the *flies*, of the fable.

The other volume of his lyrics consists in great part of amatory sonnets, almost all addressed to the same person. The delicacy of his sentiments, the fire of his passion, and the novelty of his turns of thought, redeem the want of elegance and harmony, which must be regretted in the whole performance, and may, perhaps, be discovered in the following specimens.

The first was written in the Album, at Petrarch's house, at Arquà.

O Cameretta, che già in te chiudesti
Quel Grande alla cui fama è angusto il mondo,
Quel gentile d'amor mastro profondo
Per cui Laura ebbe in terra onor celesti.
O di pensier soavemente mesti
Solitario ricovero giocondo!
Di che lagrime amare il petto inondo
In veder che ora innonorato resti!

Prezioso diaspro, agata, ed oro
Foran debito fregio e appena degno
Di rivestir si nobile tesoro.
Ma no; tomba fregiar d'uom ch' ebbe regno
Vuolsi, e por gemme ove disdice alloro:
Qui basta il nome di quel Divo Ingegno.

The other is on the tomb of Dante.

O gran padre Allighier, se dal ciel miri
Me non indegno tuo discepol starmi,
Dal cor traendo profondi sospiri,
Prostrato innanzi a tuoi funerei marmi;
Piacciati, deh! propizio a' bei desiri,
D'un raggio di tua mente illuminarmi:
Uom che a perenne e prima gloria aspiri
Contro invidia e viltà dee stringer l'armi?
Figlio, i' le strinsi, e ben men duol, che dièdi
Nome in tal guisa a gente tanto bassa
Da non pur calpestarsi co'miei piedi—
Se in me fidi, tuo sguardo non abbassa;
Va, tuona, vinci, e niun di costor vedi,
Non che parlarne; ma sovr' essi passa.

His work, called the *Misogallo*, of which he speaks with so much complacency in his own memoirs, was not printed until the year 1814, ten years after his death, and just as the French evacuated Italy. One might have thought the period well chosen; and yet the editors were obliged to leave *gaps* in certain passages, particularly where he told truth of the Popes. The Misogallo is a mixture of prose and of epigrams. These latter would be a wretched effort, even in

a middling author—they betray the rage of impotent sarcasm. As for the book itself, it is also seasoned more with spite than wit—a remark that holds good of some other epigrams published during the life-time of the author. Mr. Forsyth has cited two that are just in point.* The prose of the Misogallo contains two pieces worthy of perusal: one is the defence which Alfieri would have put into the mouth of Louis XVI. in presence of the Convention. The other is the apology of the author himself, for his detestation of the French revolution, as having ruined the cause of liberty; that cause to which Alfieri had dedicated all his talents, and the better portion of his fortune and his life.

Amongst the ancient and modern poets of Italy, no one has furnished so many pictures and busts as Alfieri. Fabre, who excels in portraits, and was his friend, has taken four likenesses in oil; all of them much esteemed, and, it should seem, justly. There is also a profile, having for inscription the sonnet in which he describes both his person and his character.

" Sublime Specchio di veraci detti
Mostrami in corpo e in anima qual sono.
Capelli or radi in fronte, e rossi pretti;
Lunga statura e capo a terra prono.

* Remarks, &c. on Italy, p. 62, edit. 2d.

Sottil persona su due stinchi schietti;
Bianca pelle, occhio azzurro, aspetto buono,
Giusto naso, bel labbro, e denti eletti,
Pallido in viso più che un Re sul trono.
Or duro acerbo, ora pieghevol mite,
Irato sempre e non maligno mai,
La mente e il cor meco in perpetua lite;
Per lo più mesto, e talor lieto assai,
Or stimandomi Achille, ed or Tersite.
Uom, sei tu grande, o vil? Mori e il saprai."

Compare the Orestes, the Virginia, the Myrrha, the Saul, and some other of his tragic masterpieces, with his comedies and his Misogallo, and we shall almost think it was the voice of conscience that told him he was sometimes the Achilles, sometimes the Thersites of authors.

His example has confirmed the opinion, that genius is the distinctive merit of poets. Alfieri, whose education was very much neglected, and whose youth was sunk in the loosest dissipation (*dissipatissima*[1]), rose, in a few years, to the highest literary distinction, and was ranked amongst the great writers of his country. His perseverance and his ardour were, it is true, such as are rarely seen. Yet the same perseverance, the same ardour, were employed in the production of his latter writings: his learn-

[1] See his letter to Mr. Calsabigi, printed in the preface to his tragedies.

ing was greater, his knowledge of the world more extensive, and his understanding more enlightened by the progress of years, and by that revolution of which he was an eye-witness, and which sharpened even very inferior intellects. Neither was he, at any period of his life, too advanced in age for mental exertion, for he was not fifty-three when he died. It is incontestable, however, that the suppression of the greater part of his posthumous publications would have been of infinite service to his fame. Perhaps he was born to shine in tragedy, and in tragedy alone; and perhaps the prodigious exertions of his first efforts exhausted his vigour and depressed his spirit, and condemned his latter years to languor and to regret. He might exclaim, with the ancient,

"Non sum qualis eram: periit pars maxima nostri
Hoc quoque, quod superest languor et horror habent."

It is affirmed by those who knew him, that between his fits of melancholy, Alfieri conversed with warmth, but always with a certain tincture of bitterness; and it is distressing to be told that he studiously avoided all those whom he had not known for several years. He carried this aversion to new intimacies to such a length, that a letter addressed by any other than a well-known hand, and under any but the seal of a friend, was thrown into the fire unopened. It

need hardly be added, that he had but two or three correspondents. The public journals and periodical papers he never once looked into for many of his latter years. Thus he had no means of becoming acquainted with his own share of that glory which had been the principal object of his life. Nor did he believe himself arrived at the station which he actually occupied in the eyes of his countrymen, and of all Europe. His melancholy divested the vanities of life of all their charms, and he refused to cherish the only illusion that could console his existence.

Count Alexander Pepoli, who inherited the wealth and the name of that powerful family, which, during the middle ages, made themselves masters of Bologna, and alarmed the princes of Italy, was the cotemporary, and, it may be said, the rival of Alfieri. He wrote tragedies, he wrote comedies: both the one and the other were applauded on the stage; both the one and the other now slumber in the libraries. He aspired to the invention of a new drama, which he thought Shaksperian, and which he called *Fisedia*—a compliment to our poet, and a tacit reproof to all other writers for the stage, from Æschylus downwards. His *Representation of Nature* pleased both the people and the actors, but never came to a second edition. Like Alfieri, he also was passionately fond of horses,

and he was bolder than our poet, for he drove a Roman car, a *quadriga*, at full gallop over the ascents and descents of the Apennines. He built a theatre for the representation of his own tragedies; he founded the magnificent printing press at Venice, from which, under the name of the *Tipografia Pepoliana*, have issued many works, and particularly several editions of the Italian historians. His daily occupations were divided, with a scrupulosity which they hardly merited, between his studies, his horses, and his table. His guests consisted of men of letters, of buffoons, of people of fashion, and of parasites. His nights were devoted to the pursuits of gallantry, in which he was sufficiently successful; for he was handsome and he was rich. His amours were occasionally postponed for his billiards, at which he lost large sums of money, in the pursuit of an excellence which he would fain have attained at all games of skill. His great ambition was to be the first *runner* in Italy, and he died in 1796, before he was forty, of a pulmonary complaint, which he had caught in a foot-race with a lacquey. He merits a place in this memoir, not for the brilliancy of his compositions, but for the shade of relief which they furnish to the similar and successful efforts of Alfieri.

HIPPOLITUS PINDEMONTE.

The Marquis John Pindemonte, eldest brother of him who will be here treated of, is a proof of the preliminary observation, that a man of literature may be very popular in Italy, and yet be without that settled reputation which owes its origin to the suffrages of the learned class of readers. This nobleman, in conjunction with Pepoli, kept for some time possession of the stage. The tragedies of John Pindemonte, which are now almost forgotten, brought crowds to the theatre at the time that Alfieri was listened to with impatience. Hippolitus Pindemonte has perhaps less imagination than his brother, but he was naturally endowed with a certain delicacy of taste, the development of which, by an education truly classical, has secured for him the highest distinctions of literature. It is, however, a fact which any one will verify by a careful enquiry, that the poetry of Hippolitus Pindemonte is not relished by the generality of readers, who are nevertheless obliged to repeat his praises, having been taught that lesson by the learned distributors of literary fame, and by those who are by tacit consent allowed to possess the most cultivated taste. The same obedient crowd throng the play-houses, to see

the tragedies of his elder brother, but the fear of the same censors prevents them from praising the composition of their favourite dramas.

Hippolitus has also written a tragedy on the death of Arminius, the German hero, whose conspiracy against the liberties of his country was punished with death, from the hand of his own relations. The style of this piece is much applauded; the plan of it is on the model of Shakespeare, without, however, a total abandonment of those ancient rules which the Italians will allow no writer to violate with impunity. He has introduced chorusses sung by young warriors and maidens, and has thus combined, with some success, the English, the Greek, and the Italian drama—as to the French plan, the example and the system of Alfieri have created a persuasion that it is irreconcileable with the Italian theatre. Whether the Arminius has stood the great test, does not appear in the published play. Perhaps it has been never acted, and perhaps it may be as little qualified for any stage as the Caractacus and the Elfrida would be for our own.

The works of Pindemonte which are most esteemed, are some lyrical poems, and particularly his epistles in verse. These last contain a happy assemblage of qualities not easily combined. The Italians behold in them the amenity of

Horace, the tenderness of Petrarch, and a certain gravity of ideas and sentiments, for which, perhaps, he is indebted to his acquaintance with English poetry. A similar transfusion of our style was before attempted by Mazza. The epistles are in blank verse, the favourite metre of the present day.

This writer has not only borrowed the English style, but many individual passages of our poets, more particularly of Milton and of Gray. The plagiaries, if they may so be called, are inserted with considerable taste and effect. A great part of his youth was spent in travelling, and he lived long enough in England to become familiar with our literature. His *Campestri* contain some copies of verses addressed to Englishmen. He speaks with enthusiastic admiration of their country; and it may be pleasing to see a fine description which he gives of a park, one of the characteristic beauties of England.

Speaking of the practice of raising tombs in gardens, he continues,

" Così eletta dimora e sì pietosa
L' Anglo talvolta, che profondi e forti
Non meno che i pensier, vanta gli' affetti,
Alle più amate ceneri destina
Nelle sue tanto celebrate ville,
Ove per gli occhi in seno, e per gli orecchi

Tanta m' entrava, e sì innocente ebbrezza.
Oh chi mi leva in alto, e chi mi porta
Tra quegli ameni, dilettosi, immensi
Boscherecci teatri! Oh chi mi posa
Su que' verdi tappeti, entro que' foschi
Solitarj ricoveri, nel grembo
Di quelle valli, ed a que' colli in vetta!
Non recise colà bellica scure
Le gioconde ombre; i conseuti asili
Là non cercaro invan gli ospiti augelli:
Nè Primavera s' ingannò, veggendo
Sparito dalla terra il noto bosco,
Che a rivestir venia delle sue frondi.
Sol nella man del giardinier solerte
Mandò lampi colà l' acuto ferro,
Che rase il prato ed agguagliollo; e i rami
Che tra lo aguardo, e le lontane scene
Si ardivano frappor, dotto corresse.
Prospetti vaghi, inaspettati incontri,
Bei sentieri, antri freschi, opachi seggi,
Lente acque e mute all' erba e ai fiori in mezzo,
Precipitanti d' alto acque tonanti,
Dirupi di sublime orror dipinti,
Campo e giardin, lusso erudito e agreste
Semplicità—Quinci ondeggiar la messe,
Pender le capre da un' aerea balza,
La valle mugolar, bellare il colle:
Quinci marmoreo sovra l'onde un ponte
Curvarsi, e un tempio biancheggiar tra il verde;
Straniere piante frondeggiar, che d' ombre
Spargono Americane il suol Brittanno,
E su ramo, che avea per altri augelli
Natura ordito, augei cantar d'Europa.
Mentre superbo delle arboree corna
Va per la selva il cervo, e spesso il capo

Volge, e ti guarda; e in mezzo all' onda il cigno
Del piè fa remo, il collo inarca, e fende
L' argenteo lago. Così bel soggiorno
Sentono i bruti stessi, e delle selve
Scuoton con istupor la cima i venti.
Deh perchè non poss' io tranquilli passi
Muovere ancor per quelle vie, celarmi
Sotto l' intreccio ancor di que' frondosi
Rami ospitali, e udir da lunge appena
Mugghiar del Mondo la tempesta, urtarsi
L' un contro l' altro popolo, corone
Spezzarsi, e scettri? oh quanta strage! oh quanto
Scavar di fosse, e traboccar di corpi
E ai condottier trafitti alzar di tombe!"

It was, however, neither our parks nor our learned leisure that awakened such lively feelings, and called forth such ardent vows for his return to England. Our women must share the merit of the inspiration; for Pindemonte has given the initial of some nymph who had the good fortune to be the object of his first real, as well as his first poetic, passion. It may perhaps be flattering to this person, if she is still in existence, to know that the poet's verses to Miss H*** are esteemed by the Italians as some of his best, and not unworthy of comparison with those which have immortalized the charms of Laura. They are in the form of a canzone, in the manner of Petrarch, and the two first stanzas are as follows:

" O Giovenetta, che la dubbia via
Di nostra vita, pellegrina allegra,
Con pié non sospettoso imprimi ed orni;
Sempre così propizio il ciel ti sia!
Nè adombri mai nube improvvisa e negra
L' innocente seren de' tuoi bei giorni.
Non che il Mondo ritorni
A te quanto gli dai tu di dolcezza,
Ch' egli stesso ben sa non poter tanto.
Valle è questa di pianto
E gran danno qui spesso è gran bellezza,
Qui dove perde agevolmente fama
Qual più vaga si chiama:
Come andrà l' alma mia giojosa e paga
Se impunemente esser potrai sì vaga!

" Il men di che può donna esser cortese
Ver chi l' ha di sè stesso assai più cara
Da te, vergine pura, io non vorrei:
Veder in te quella che pria m' accese
Bramo, e sol temo che men grande e cara
Ciò ti faccia parere agli occhi miei.
Nè volontier torrei
Di spargerti nel sen foco amoroso,
Chè quanto è a me più noto il fiero ardore
Delitto far maggiore
Mi parrìa se turbassi il tuo riposo.
Maestro io primo ti sarò d'affanno?
O per me impareranno
Nuovi affanni i tuoi giorni, ed interrotti
Sonni per me le tue tranquille notti?"

The whole of the remainder of this canzone gives a flattering picture of the beauty, of the

modesty, and of the unaffected graces, of the English young women of that day; and the delicacy of such a passion redounds not less to the credit of the poet than of the lady, who must either have been naturally exempt from the ambition of coquetry, or must have taken great pains to conceal it.

The same author has published a romance in prose, which, as far as regards the apparent purpose of the work, reminds us of Rasselas. But Pindemonte's *Abarite* has failed to procure him the reputation of a distinguished prose writer. For purity, for erudition, for polish, it is not inferior to his verses, but it wants the charm of those pleasing compositions. His prefaces, his literary correspondence, and his little biographies, have never been seriously criticised, and are perhaps not worth it.

He has been assailed, like all other writers, by repeated criticisms; but those criticisms have made little noise, and, however they may have really affected him, have not disturbed his apparent tranquillity. The baseness of flattery, the bitterness of censure, will not be found in the personal allusions of Pindemonte. His writings, like his conversation, are those of an accomplished gentleman.

He has always in theory been devoted to the cause of liberty; but at the coming of the French

he laid down for his conduct one *inviolable maxim*—Hide thy life; *notwithstanding that his eldest brother and many of his friends have been actively engaged with different political parties*[1]. He has confined himself to some poetical complaints of the ravages and degradation which the sword of the stranger has for so many ages inflicted on his unhappy country.

From the beginning of the Revolution he has passed his time between Venice and Verona, his native town, and chiefly employed upon a translation of the Odyssey. There are many Italian translations of Homer, but not one has yet obtained that complete success which the voice of the nation, and the sanction of the learned world, alone can bestow. Pindemonte has, it is probable, judiciously selected this poem in preference to the Iliad, which would have required more imagination and more energy than are the characteristics of his style. The two first books were published some time ago, and Italy was as impatient as such a prospect can make her, for the remainder of the performance. The whole translation appeared at the close of the last year, but what was the effect or judgment resulting from it, cannot, of course,

[1] See his own declaration in the preface to his Epistles, published at Verona, in the year 1805.

be known. The poet's health has of late rs been much on the decline, and obliged ı to proceed leisurely with his occupation. has passed his sixtieth year, and age and rmity have made him devout. His spiritual rcises occupy a considerable portion of his e, and plunge him into that consuming soli- e which a more rational religion would teach ı to exchange for the active duties and ial amusements of life.

This author is not ranked amongst the men surpassing genius which Italy has produced, ı, perhaps, ought not to be: but the assiduity is studies; the consummate skill with which as known where to employ, and how to deve- e his superior abilities; the sleepless care with ich he has watched over the rise, and pre- ved the integrity of his fame; the decorum h of his life and writings; have secured for ı the undisputed possession of the first place the intermediate class, between the great sters of the art, and those who write to capti- e the multitude. The English reader will lerstand this place by recurring to the author he Pleasures of Memory, and perhaps that tleman may accept as much of the compa- n as the just ambition of a poet will allow ı to think consistent with the pretension to ualified excellence. This intermediate class,

although, as in the present instance, it occasionally produces an author, is composed for the most part of those who may be called rather learned readers than learned writers. Such a class has sprung up partially amongst ourselves, but with this difference, that our critics, although they do not condescend to advance in the regular uniform of writers, still appear in print, and that not unfrequently; whereas in Italy they seldom take up the pen, and acquire by that discretion a dignity which gives more weight to their oral judgment. These persons have received what we call a *regular* education, are familiar with, and formed upon, the classical writers, both ancient and modern; and, by an habitual application of the prescribed rules to every popular performance, are the self-instituted, but undisputed, arbiters of taste. There are five or six of these in every considerable town; and one set, some of whom are perhaps authors, presides over all the provincial critics: not even the writers of a respectable class dare to pronounce their opinion without a previous inquiry at the national oracle. A great compiler, Tiraboschi for instance, would not have ventured to speak of a cotemporary until he knew what decision had been pronounced by Bettinelli or Roberti.

These persons establish, by the union of their

suffrages, a reputation which is sure not to be ephemeral. But there is yet another class of readers, whom it is prudent to gain before an author can promise himself

"The life to come in every poet's creed."

These are the men of cultivated minds, *the men of the world*; a vague phrase, but which will be understood, although it cannot be precisely defined. With the combined verdict of the former as the guardians of the language, and of the latter as the organ of the feelings of his countrymen, the Italian author may be secure that the common readers will follow in a crowd, and, like the Romans to Augustus, raise frequent altars to his living merit.

VINCENT MONTI.

This poet has always enjoyed, and still enjoys a sort of pre-eminence, of which, notwithstanding all the world seems agreed upon his claims, he has often been very nearly deprived. His subjects have, for the most part, been popular and occasional. He has laid hold of the most interesting events of the moment: he has sustained the preponderating opinions, and he has invariably advocated the interests of the succeeding reigning powers. With such advantages, it is not

strange that he should have found many willing and eager readers; nor is it more strange that all the various governments, one after the other, should have continued to rank him amongst their partisans. It may excite somewhat more surprise to remark the air not only of enthusiasm, but of sincerity, with which he has delivered his contradictory panegyrics, and to admire the address, with which he appears rather repentant than changeful, and converts the dictates of interest into a case of conscience. By turns flattering and irritating every party, he has not only roused the passions of his cotemporaries, but has given them a direction towards himself. His real merit, and the advantage derived from his powerful pen by the triumphant faction, have protected him from neglect; and that prostitution of talents which would have rendered him either odious or ridiculous in England, has been less contemptible in a country where there is more indifference, and less intelligence employed, in the view of political transactions.

For three centuries not a single Italian poet had raised his voice against the will or the wish of the powerful. Alfieri and Parini had made the first noble exception to this submission, and it was more easy to admire than imitate so rare an example. Monti, independent of the difference of natural disposition, was not born to the

wealth of Alfieri, nor was he thrown into the same juncture of circumstances that had favored the Milanese poet; neither had he been formed by that independent education which both the one and the other had enjoyed. In a word, Monti was brought up at the court of Rome.

The charm of Monti's poetry consists in a pleasing union of the soft and the strong. His ideas are strikingly apparent, his sentiments are full of fire, his verses are truly melodious, and his imagery is highly embellished, and has received the last finishing and decoration of taste. He has, indeed, touched nothing that he has not adorned. If his polish is confined to the surface, not only himself but his readers are content without enquiring into the depth of his capacity.

Monti owed the first diffusion of his reputation to his Aristodemus, a tragedy which, to use the language of the stage, is a stock play in constant acting, notwithstanding the passion and interest are totally confined to the chief character. The dialogue was found to have more warmth, and colouring, and energy, than that of Metastasio, who was then in possession of the stage; and the audience were not terrified even by the shadow of that harshness, and violence, and obscurity, which characterised the tragedies of Alfieri, who was just emerging into

notice, and regarded as a wild irregular genius, scarcely within the pale of literary civilization. Monti then was the tragic writer of Italy, and was confidently hailed as the successful candidate for an eminence as yet never occupied.

He afterwards published two other tragedies: *Galeotto Manfredi*, which is not only far below his Aristodemus, but beneath the talents of the author, and *Caius Gracchus*. Some fine passages constitute the sole merit of the last tragedy, into which he has introduced some scenes that the Italians are pleased to call *by far too natural*—"*assai troppo naturali.*" These scenes were expressly imitated from Shakespeare, and succeeded at first—nobody, however, dared to applaud them in the subsequent representations. The critical spectators near the orchestra, and the closet-judges, having once condemned that which appears to militate against classical authority, their sentence is irrevocable:—the people have not a voice; or, if they dare to speak, are not heard. The defects of Monti's tragedies are reducible to the insignificance of his characters, to the irregularity of his plot, and to a style sometimes too lyrical, sometimes too tame. These were discovered by the audience, and perhaps by the poet, for he laid no further claim to the throne of Melpomene.

The work of his which has made the most

noise is the "*Cantica in morte di Ugo Basville*," published in Rome in 1793, when the author was about thirty-five years of age. This poem is even now considered superior to the subsequent productions of this fruitful writer, who has never laid aside, and still holds the pen. An edition of it has been published in London by Mr. Matthias, with the title *La Revoluzione Franceze*, and another appeared at Paris with another name, *Le Dante Ingentilito*. It would be difficult to guess at the motive for these changes, with which it is probable the poet was not made acquainted; and it would be more difficult still to justify the usurpation of rights which appear to belong only to the author.

Hugh Basville was a man of letters, employed on a mission at Rome by the National Convention. His object was, probably, to sow the seeds of democracy, and to watch the conduct of the papal government in the approaching revolution. Others there are, however, who affirm that he was only on his return from the court of Naples, where he had been secretary of the French Legation, and that he was charged with no such commission. This is asserted in one of the numbers of the *Gazette des Maires*, published at Paris by Captain de Basville, who has undertaken to justify his father's memory.

The Roman populace, however, looked upon him as a Jacobin spy, murdered him, and pillaged his house. The capital of the world indulged in a savage triumph at this exploit, and the ministers of the pope, by their inactivity to punish, were suspected of participating in the crime. But Pius VI. was generous enough to save the wife and child of Basville from the rage of the multitude. On this occasion Monti wrote his poem.

According to the anecdotes contained in some pamphlets, and, amongst others, in one called *Esame su le accuse contro V. Monti*, published at Milan in 1798, Monti was the friend of Basville; and it is certain, that in the greater part of his subsequent writings he shewed himself a friend of the revolution. His poem justified the court of Rome, perpetuated the name of his friend, and saved himself from the perils of his late intimacy with a Jacobin. The plan of this work is very simple. Basville repents and dies, and is pardoned by the Almighty. An angel conducts his spirit across those kingdoms of the earth which had been desolated by the wars and crimes of the French revolution. They arrive at Paris at the moment that Louis XVI. is mounting the scaffold. The spirit of the king, ascending to heaven, meets

the shade of Basville, and the angel makes them known to each other. The king questions him, and Basville narrates the cause and the manner of his death.

La fronte sollevò, rizzossi in piedi
L'addolorato spirto; e le pupille
Tergendo, a dire i cominciò: Tu vedi,
Signor, nel tuo cospetto Ugo Basville
Dalla Francese Libertà mandato
Sul Tebro a suscitar l'empie scintille,
Stolto! che volli con l'immobil fato
Cozzar della gran Roma, onde ne porto
Rotta la tempia e il fianco insanguinato.
Chè di Giuda il Leon non anco è morto
Ma vive e rugge; e il pelo arruffa e gli occhi
Terror d'Egitto, e d'Israel conforto:
E se monta in furor, l'aste, e gli stocchi
Sa spezzar de' nemici; e par che gride
"SON LO SDEGNO DI DIO: NESSUN MI TOCCHI."

Here Basville confesses the crime which brought him to his end, and lauds the vengeance of Rome and of the Lion of Judah. But the above quotation suggests another remark, which will be found more or less true of all Monti's works; namely, that he has not scrupled to insert the ideas, and the turns of expression of former poets in his best verses. The beginning

of this canto reminds us of that of Dante's Ugolino.

> La bocca sollevò dal fero pasto
> Quel peccator—
>
> Poi cominciò: Tu vuoi—

and the last verse is evidently from Petrarch,

> "Son del Cesare mio: nessun mi tocchi."

Monti indeed regards it as a portion of his art, and a proof of his talents, successfully to employ the fine thoughts, and the phrases of the great writers. No modern author has, perhaps, so freely imitated others as Monti; but no modern author has so frankly confessed his obligations, and his gratitude. His notes abound with the passages from which he has borrowed, and he has the praise of sometimes improving upon his originals, and of always introducing them in proper time and place. So far from accusing him of plagiary, we are rather agreeably surprised by the new aspect which he gives to beauties already familiar to every reader.

The fourth canto of the poem prepares us for the war of the coalesced potentates to revenge the death of Louis XVI. The soul of Basville is condemned by the poet to expiate his crime, by beholding the horrors of the Revolution, and by wandering without the pre-

cincts of Paradise until France shall have received the punishment of her regicide:

Finchè non sia di Francia ultro il delitto.

According to this plan, Monti had opened an unbounded field for his exertions, and by merely following the progress of events, he would have avoided those difficulties, with which the necessity of inventing and arranging a series of fictions, has embarrassed the greater part of all poetical writers. He would only have had to select the most remarkable traits in the astonishing history of our times, and to divide them, according to the rules of his art and the power of his genius, into pictures which should command the delight and wonder of posterity. The difficulty of handling a cotemporary topic, was not too great for the capacity of Monti, and had he continued his Basville to the victory of Waterloo, he might have occupied, next to Dante, that place which Virgil possesses in the vicinity of Homer.

The voyage of the angel with the shade of Basville is taken from that of Dante with the spirit of Virgil. The *terze rime*, a metre perfected by the father of Italian poetry, was, in the true sense of the word, *ennobled* (*ingentilito*) by Monti. It is true that he has not the same harmonious variety, nor the same boldness of expression, nor the same loftiness of thought as

are found in his model. But he is more equal, more clear, more finished in every part: his images have not only the stable grandeur, but even the glossy whiteness of Parian sculpture; and although they succeed each other with astonishing rapidity, and force, and boldness, preserve an elegance peculiar to themselves, more especially in the *terze rime*, which no one has ever employed with the same success. It is probable that Monti will never be surpassed in this metre: but in the heroic stanza he could not come into the field against Ariosto, and Tasso; and in blank verse, Cesarotti, Parini, and Foscolo have been more adventurous and more successful.

Monti had scarcely published the fourth canto of his poem, (which, such as he left it, does not amount to 1500 lines,) when the French conquered Lombardy. Perhaps it was fear, perhaps it was interest, or more likely still inclination, that seduced him from Rome, and settled him in the capital of the new Cisalpine republic. On this occasion he quitted the service of the Duke of Braschi, the nephew of Pius VI. Prelates, cardinals, and even Popes, had begun by being secretaries like himself, but Monti was a married man—he was a poet, and he was not besides in the good graces of his Holiness. He one day presented Pius with a

nagnificent edition of his poetry, and the Pon-
iff condescended to accept it: but added, at
he same time, after quoting some verses of
Metastasio, "*No one, now a days, writes like
hat great poet.*"

Monti was now the poet of the popular as-
emblies, of the armies, of the democratic din-
ers, which rose together at the institution of the
ew Republic; and his patriotic hymns have,
lmost alone, survived the innumerable copies of
erses, inspired by occasions so animating. But
e did not confine himself to songs; he wrote
with sober severity against the priests: such are
is *Superstizione*, and his *Fanatismo*, and his
Visione, in which the shade of Louis XVI. is
changed from the martyr of his Basville into a
ideous spectre. Neither his labours nor his de-
votion could, however, obtain for Monti the con-
idence or even the pardon of the friends of the
evolution: We learn this from his own lips; for
e complains of it, and leaves nothing untried to
convince his fellow citizens of his sincerity, and
egs at least for pity, in the opening of one of
is poems, in which he brings himself upon the
tage, and assumes the imploring pathetic atti-
ude of the father of a family.

Stendi dolce amor mio, sposa di letta,
A quell' arpa la man, che la soave
Dolce fatica di tue dita aspetta!

Svegliami l'armonia ch' entro le cave
Latèbre alberga del sonoro legno,
E de' forti pensier volgi la chiave.

These were to Monti days of humiliation, and of bitterness, and of danger. The legislative council passed a severe and an unjust law against those who, before the Italian Revolution, had written in favour of tyranny; and it was seen that this law was directed more particularly against the author of the *Basvilliana*. The low retainers of literature, under the pretext of patriotism, now gave vent to their jealousy, and assailed Monti with scurrilities equally violent and mean.

His friends had procured him a place in the commissariat of Romagna: but he was accused of peculation, and carried before a tribunal.—The calumny was proved, and the defendant acquitted, but no steps were taken to punish the calumniators.

Such were the dangers of his position, or such was the inconstancy of his soul, that Monti disgraced himself beyond the wishes of his rivals. Pius VI. was carried off from Rome by the French, and the poet chose this forced migration of his former master for the occasion of an invective imitated from that ode of Horace, in which the Roman republic is compared to a ship tossed by the wind and waves, and steering for the harbour. No protestant

pen has ever traced invectives more severe against the Great Harlot than are poured forth by the repentant secretary.

Di mala merce e di dolor vai carca,
O Nave, che dal Tosco al Sardo lito
Porti il gran Pescator, che in infinito
Mar di colpe ha di Pier rotta la barca:
Vedi come t'insegue e il dorso inarca
L'onda irata? de' venti odi il ruggito?
Prendi porto, sollecita il pentito
Remo e di tanto peccator ti scarca.

Dante had before called upon the islands of Capraja and Gorgona to block up the mouth of the Arno, and drown the inhabitants of Pisa, for their cruelty to the children of Ugolino; and Monti now invoked Sardinia, and told it to fly away, that the *last of monsters* might not find even a tomb to shelter him,

E dritto fora
Non dar di tomba nè d'arena un velo
All' ultimo de' mostri.

Monti at least revenged himself of Pius for placing him below Metastasio.

It was but a short time afterwards that Suvaroff and the Austrians made themselves masters of Italy. Monti fled to France, and

the distresses of his exile gave a new vigour and a dignity to his exertions.

Mascheroni, a mathematician, much esteemed in Italy, and a writer of verses admired for their elegance, had distinguished himself for his enthusiastic love of liberty, and, what was much more rare, by his noble integrity of character and purity of manners. He also had escaped, on the same occasion, to Paris, where he died. Monti thought this a good opportunity for writing another poem, which he called *The Death of Mascheroni* (In Morte di Mascheroni), on the plan of his Basville. The spirit of his hero is in like manner made to traverse the earth, and in his view of the changes of Italy beholds the advantages of liberty and the pernicious effects of popular licentiousness. The political aim of this poem is more useful, and the subject is better handled, than in the Death of Basville; but the author could not refuse himself the satisfaction of consigning to perpetual infamy the names of his demagogue persecutors.

The Italians discover a greater variety and interest in the scenes presented to the notice of Mascheroni than in those of Basville. They think the style less pointed, but more rich and more graceful, and they look upon the *terze rime* as less monotonous and more harmonious

than any of his former specimens. The plan was equally vast with that of his first poem, and it was, like Basville, also stopped at the fourth canto: for Bonaparte became Emperor of the French and King of Italy, and Monti hastened to publish six cantos of another poem: these were to be the first part of a long work which he called *The Bard of the Black Forest* (Il Bardo della Selva Nera.)

It must be owned that the conception of this poem is vastly puerile. The author is obliged to imagine that there are bards who deal in verse and prophecy yet to be found by those who look for them; and just such a one as Cæsar and Lucan saw in the depths of Germany is discovered by Monti in 1805, hidden somewhere in the Black Forest. This bard has a daughter, Malvina, who is surprised into a sentimental passion for a French officer, who has been wounded in the battle of Albeck. The victories of Napoleon are chaunted forth by the same officer, who, it seems, succeeds in persuading the bard of the advantages of imperial despotism; for he prophesies the absolute monarchy of the triumphant warrior.

This poem is in different metres; in blank verse, in heroical and in lyrical stanzas; a mixture which has had great success with us, but

is far from agreeable to the Italians, who have been taught by Dante to run into any embarrassments rather than facilitate the art of poetry.

Monti left this poem also incomplete; and Napoleon, to encourage the continuation of a prophecy so flattering, created him a knight of two orders, and gave him a thousand louis d'ors. The emperor also assigned him a pension, and made him his historiographer.

The foregoing censure of the Bard of the Black Forest should be accompanied with the confession that it contains some admirable passages. Such is the description of the night after a bloody battle.

Pallido intanto su l'Abnobie rupi
Il Sol cadendo, raccogliea d'intorno
Dalle cose i colori, e alla pietosa
Notte del mondo concedea la cura;
Ed ella del regal suo velo eterno
Spiegando il lembo, raccendea negli astri
La morta luce, e la spegnea sul volto
Degli stanchi mortali. Era il tuon queto
De' fulmini guerrieri, e ne vagava
Sol per la valle il fumo atro, confuso
Colle nebbie de' boschi e de' torrenti:
Eran quete le selve, eran dell' aure
Queti i sospiri; ma lugubri e cupi
S'udian gemiti e grida in lontananza

Di languenti trafitti, e un calpestio
Di cavalli e di fanti, e sotto il grave
Peso de' bronzi un cigolio di rote
Che mestizia e terror mettea nel core.

Monti, in this poem, has with his usual taste profited by the Ossian of Cesarotti and the French prose translation of Gray's odes, and of Shakespeare. He does not read English, but he is as ardent an admirer of our great dramatist as he is of Dante. The writer has heard him pronounce his decided judgment, that the world has produced but three *poets*, properly so called; and Homer, with the two just mentioned, form his triumvirate. The two following stanzas will be seen to have been copied from the speech of Ulysses in Troilus and Cressida, where the necessity of a monarchy is deduced from the pre-eminence of the sun above the stars.

Delle stelle monarca egli s'asside
Sul trono della luce; e con eterna
Unica legge il moto, e i rai divide
Ai seguaci pianeti, e li governa.
Per lui Natura si feconda e ride;
Per lui la danza armonica s'alterna
Delle stagion; per lui nullo si spia
Grano di polve che vital non sia.
E cagion sola del mirando effetto
È la costante eguale unica legge
Con che il raggiante imperador l'aspetto
Delle create cose alto corregge.

Togli questa unità, togli il perfetto
Tenor de' varj moti, onde si regge
L'armonia de' frenati orbi diversi,
E tutti li vedrai confusi e spersi.

Monti undertook a translation of the Iliad; and he undertook it confessing that he knew nothing of Greek, but copied after the literal interpretations in Latin, the various commentators, and the poetical versions of all his predecessors. He depended solely upon his talents for versification, and the charms of his style. His readers were equally confident with himself: and their previous persuasion secured him the first applauses with which his translation was welcomed even by the Greek scholars, who were happy to accept of so powerful an ally in their contest with Cesarotti. It was, however, discovered, that a translation made by one who was ignorant of the original could not be depended upon. The distrust spread even to those who were themselves equally unacquainted with the Greek text; and the censures of the learned were heard and multiplied in every quarter. They have by degrees been pushed to an extreme equally unjustifiable with the first praises of this translation. Monti had heard of the simplicity of Homer: he wished to imitate this quality, which is so much eulogized, and so little capable of definition. To accomplish this

project, he sprinkled his phrases with Italian *idiotisms*, and he moreover was prodigal of words from the *Latin*, which, although they have a certain classical air, and are well chosen, expressive, and clear, and enrich the language, give, however, a prosaic and pedantic air, that renders his manner disagreeable and dry. He has almost always faithfully given the meaning of Homer, but he has frequently omitted to lay hold of those minute and accessory beauties which form in fact the exclusive merit of great writers, and which, as they are rather felt than seen, are the despair of the most expert translator.

Monti has given an agreeable colouring to the pictures of the Iliad; but he has not always been sufficiently exact in his representation of him, who is, as it were, the master of *design*, and the father of all the great artists. He is simple and he is easy, but he is not natural: he has more fire than strength. It must still be allowed, that the verses and style of Monti render his Iliad more agreeable than it appears in the meagre translation of Salvini, or in the *rifaccimento* of Cesarotti. He may at least pretend to the double merit of having done better than others, and of having excited others to do better than him.

As to the general method, his style is founded

upon the exquisite example furnished by Virgil in his imitations of the Greek poet; and, as far as respects the versification, he has studied the translation of the Eneid by Hannibal Caro, which Monti considers as the purest model of blank verse, and the true depository of the riches and the elegance of the Italian language. His version, like that of his prototype, is, in fact, invariably flowing, and derives its chief excellence from periods well rounded, and a cadence always agreeable. The numbers and the accents of each verse are *comparatively* neglected. This manner of writing flatters the ear, and is not so varied as to be fatiguing, but it is liable to the monotony which offends us in Ovid, and is still more striking in a language more melodious and less sonorous than the Latin, and whose heroic verses have not the advantage of the hexametral length.

Monti has also translated Persius, and has given to him a clearness of idea and a softness of expression not to be found in the most obscure and the harshest of all the ancient poets. Yet he has rendered some satires line for line, and bound himself by the test before applied by Davanzati to Tacitus. This translation has ceased to be spoken of, except to cite those notes which were composed by the author in 1803, in the height of his enthusiasm for republics, and

of his detestation of the vice and tyranny of the Roman Emperors.

The talents of Monti were devoted, with a constancy proportioned to the duration of the French power, to the praise of Napoleon, his unwearied patron. But neither the attachment of the poet, nor the liberality of the Emperor, contributed, in the expected degree, to the reputation of the author or to the glory of his imperial Mecænas. When Napoleon, after the battle of Jena, sent the sword of Frederic II. to Paris, Monti wrote a poem in one canto, and called it the *Sword of Frederic*. But *La Spada di Federico* had some defects, not only of composition and style, but even in the versification, which the partisans of Bonaparte themselves could not pardon, and, accordingly, attacked with a success dangerous to the superiority of Monti, who ran a second risk of losing his pre-eminence, by a poem which he published two or three years afterwards, and called the *Palingenesis*. This *Regeneration* was the system of Pythagoras demonstrated in the metamorphoses produced in the world by the genius of Bonaparte; and the apparent object of Monti was to rival the *Prohéa* of Cesarotti. Monti had not the same excuse as the Paduan poet: he was not very aged, nor did he write at the

express order of the Emperor. But his *Palingenesis* was not more fortunate than the Pronéa.

The odes published by Monti on the usual occasions of victories and treaties of peace, on the marriages and the births of princes, and which he struck off at a heat with inconceivable rapidity, are most of them finished to perfection. Even those which are on the whole but middling performances, contain stanzas cited by the Italians as masterpieces in this way of writing.

" *Lassù, dov' anco*
Il muto arriva
Gemer del verme che calcato spira ;
Del Nume al fianco
Siede una Diva,
Che chiusa in negro ammanto
Scrive i delitti coronati, e all' ira
Di Dio presenta delle genti il pianto."

The series of Monti's poems would not be completely cited without mentioning three of considerable length ; *Il Prometeo*, *La Musogonia*, and *La Feroniade*, of which he has published only the first cantos and some fragments. The second of these is an imitation of Hesiod. The allegory of Prometheus furnishes a clear and poetical development of the merit and the

perilous course of that superior order of beings who dedicate their lives to the enlightening of the human race, and displays the ingratitude of the people towards the defenders of their liberty, and the despotism which is the closing scene of every political drama. *La Feroniade*, a name borrowed from that of the nymph cited by Virgil and Horace, and who was one of the Roman deities that had a temple in the Pontine Marshes, was a poem composed for Pius VI., who had undertaken to drain and cultivate, and people those marshes. The enemies of Monti republished some passages of these three poems, to shew that he had substituted the eulogy of his new protectors by the erasure of those originally inserted in praise of the Pope.

The prose of Monti is distinguished for the ease, the clearness, the harmony, and the metaphorical richness which characterise his verses: but the style is unequal, and now and then infected with *Gallicisms*. The poetical diction of Italy has, by the efforts of many great writers, retained its purity through the revolutions of five centuries; but the prose has been subject to the changes of time, and to the invasion of foreign arms and foreign literature. Monti has been lately occupied with a laborious work, meant to supply the void left by the Cruscan academicians in their dictionary, and to coun-

teract the prejudices of the too rigorous adherents of the old school, and the bold dogmas of licentious innovators. It is thought that in this work, the offspring of his cooler reflection, and directed to aims more useful, he will avoid those inaccuracies of haste and passion which disfigured his previous performances, and degraded them into mere personal controversies. An exception should be made in favour of two or three discourses, published when he was professor at Pavia. One of them is much praised, and perhaps not a little owing to the subject of which it treats, namely, *Of the scientific discoveries which foreigners have usurped to themselves, in prejudice of the Italian inventors.* Monti shewed his patriotism in this treatise, but much could not be said of his knowledge or of his equity. Even his eloquence was more lively than vigorous. He threw down his glove in defiance of all foreigners, but more especially of the French, and was backed by his countrymen, who have fallen into the absurdity of depreciating the present merit of other nations, by comparing it with the past glories of their ancestors.

Monti has never been wise enough to laugh at silly criticisms, nor was he ever known to spare a powerless adversary. Having been rudely attacked, he has always defended him-

self rudely. He seems to have looked upon a censure of his writings as an obstacle thrown maliciously in the way of his fortune. In this temper he told the Abate Bettinelli, "*It is not the poet that these people want to attack; no, it is the historiographer of Napoleon; and they conspire to make me appear in his eyes a contemptible writer*[1]."

He tried, therefore, to persuade the court and the ministers to prosecute his adversaries: but it should be told, that he employed the same influence in the promotion of his friends. Towards them Monti is truly the warmest and the most devoted of men, and is ready for every generous sacrifice as long as he feels assured that he has no reason to suspect the loyalty of their attachment.

His violent literary disputes with his distinguished cotemporaries, with Mazza, Cesarotti, and Bettinelli, have all terminated by a solicitation of their friendship: and he has not refused to restore his confidence to others who, having grievously offended him, have intreated to be reconciled. It has happened to him to quarrel with, and to pardon, the same individual several times.

The habit of writing on temporary topics may

[1] Lettera all' Abate Bettinelli, Milano, 1809.

explain, perhaps, the care which he takes to acquire renown by efforts which, in the end, frequently terminate in the loss of it. He is afraid of the very newspaper writers, and is ambitious of their suffrages. He keeps up a regular correspondence with all the men of letters in Italy, and barters with them the usual commodity of mutual adulation. He is, however, sincere enough with those young writers who ask his advice, and contrives to encourage them without flattery, and to instruct them without arrogance. He repeats verses inimitably: he is eloquent in his conversation, which is generally of the softer kind; but the slightest contradiction provokes him to a vehement defence of positions which he abandons the next day with perfect indifference.

It is probable that the inconstancy, as well as the momentary eagerness of certain individuals, is to be attributed less to education than to nature. The life of Dryden can scarcely be compared in a single instance with that of Monti; nor is the poetry, nor even the character of the English laureate at all similar to that of the Italian. The above disgraceful quality they have, however, in common with each other. Both of them have degraded the literature to which they owe their fame, by making it subservient to their private interests,

at the expense of truth and of honour. Both of them have been systematic flatterers of the powerful and the great, and both of them have wanted the requisite consolations of old age.

Monti had pursued the Austrians with the war of words, after each of their repeated defeats. When they re-appeared as conquerors, they deprived him of almost all his pensions; but they bargained at the same time for a *cantata* from his pen, which was set to music and sung in the theatre, to welcome their return to Italy. It is neither a hazardous nor a severe reflection to assert, that this poet must look back with feelings of bitter regret upon sixty years of laborious and brilliant exertions, which are about to end for ever; and which have left him in the enjoyment neither of an independent fortune nor of a spotless reputation; nor of those fixed principles without the possession of which no one can, without trembling, dare to contemplate the close of his career.

A splendid example and a warning for an apostate generation—

Petite hinc juvenesque senesque
Finem animo certum, miserisque viatica canis.

HUGO FOSCOLO.

When the revolution of 1795 gave a shock to principles for ages established in Italy, and set in motion the spirits and the interests of the inhabitants of every province, the writers before mentioned had all of them published those works which gave them a fixed reputation with their countrymen.

Hugo Foscolo was at that time a youth, but not too young to profit by the friendship and the example of his distinguished cotemporaries. The total change in the political condition of his country, his military education, and the part which he played in public affairs, developed however his talents, and formed his character, in a manner quite different from that of his predecessors: besides, the circumstances under which he wrote arrived too late to form their style; and being now gone by, may perhaps require a course of ages to reproduce.

Foscolo laid it down for a principle, that Italian poetry had expired with Tasso, and had been re-resuscitated only in the present day. Hear his own words—" Senza l'Ossian del Cesarotti, Il Giorno del Parini, Vittorio Alfieri, e Vincenzo Monti, la nostra poesia si giacerebbe tuttavia sepolta con le ceneri di Torquato

Tasso. Da indi in quà un secolo la inorpellò, e l' altro la immiserì. L' Ossian può far dare nello strano; il Parini nel leccato; l'Alfieri nell' aspro; e il Monti nell' ornato: ma le umane virtù non fruttano senza l'innesto d'un vizio. I grandi ingegni emuleranno: i mezzani scimiotterrano: e coloro che esplorano i propri meriti nelle altrui colpe, si getteranno simili a corvi sovra le piaghe de' generosi cavalli."

This passage, extracted from his Preface to an experiment for translating the Iliad, printed at Brescia in 1807 [1], may serve for a specimen of his style and of his literary opinions.

He commenced his career a year before the fall of the Venetian republic, with a tragedy called *Thyestes*. Being angry at the little attention paid by the Venetians to the tragedies of Alfieri, and at the corrupted taste which made them prefer and applaud those of the Marquis Pindemonte and of Count Pepoli, he resolved that his drama should have only four personages; and that the simplicity and severity of his whole composition should rival Alfieri and the Greek tragedians. With this hardy project, he contrived that his play should be acted on the same night when two new pieces from the pen of the above Marquis and

[1] Esperimento di traduzione dell' Iliade.

Count were to be represented at other theatres of the same town. The courage and the youth of the author enabled him to triumph over his rivals, and his Thyestes received more applause than perhaps it deserved. The actors published it in the tenth volume of the "*Teatro Italiano Applaudito*," subjoining to it an account of its great success, and a criticism written in favour of the author. Foscolo himself adopted the extraordinary proceeding of publishing a severe censure of his own work, the success of which he attributed solely to its conformity with the great models of antiquity. The pamphlet was ill received by the public, and the Venetians painted the portrait of the young poet in the drop curtain of the Fenice Theatre, amongst those who had a better claim to this distinction. The Thyestes is still occasionally acted, and is sustained by the warmth of the dialogue, and the strength of the dramatic passions, but the style is so harsh as to be insupportable to the reader.

The learned of Italy speak neither well nor ill of the *Letters of Ortis*, which, however, has been more frequently reprinted in his own country than any other of Foscolo's works, and is certainly much more known on the other side of the Alps. The Germans have exhausted upon this little book all the metaphy-

sics of criticism: they have translated it twice; and a certain professor Luden has accompanied his version with a whole volume of dissertations. After all, it is but an imitation of *Werter*. There is however this striking difference, that the object of the Italian is solely political. There is indeed something for all tastes in the politics, and the poetry, and the love of Ortis. The allusions to the downfal of the Venetian republic, and the introduction of living interlocutors, such as Parini at Milan, give a reality to the fable which must be highly interesting to the Italians, and is attractive even to strangers. There is a melancholy patriotism in every word in which he mentions Italy, that makes the author respectable in the eyes of every generous reader. There are some pictures of small objects that evince a considerable knowledge of the human heart, and are extremely affecting. The little dog of the lady who falls in love with Ortis may be mentioned as one. The author is in his proper element when he breaks forth into his ethical reflections: how truly he says, "That we are too proud to give our compassion when we feel we can give nothing else."

The love of Ortis is, perhaps, the least interesting portion of the work; there is not importance enough attached to his existence, to

make it natural that so much importance should be attached to his end. It was difficult, perhaps, to give many attractions to the adventures of an obscure politician; but it is still possible that those of an age and sex more accessible to the tender feelings may be touched by the misfortunes and the heroic despair of the Italian Werter. But Ortis may boast of having been the first book that induced the females and the mass of readers to interest themselves in public affairs. This was a mighty exploit in a country where one maxim had been for ages the ground-work of education for all classes of society, *De Deo parum, de Principe nihil.* It is difficult at this day to find in Italy an edition of the Letters of Ortis altogether exempt from those mutilations which the revisors of one kind or another have inflicted on this romance. In spite, however, of all their prudent efforts, it has been found impossible to emasculate every page which launches forth invectives against the corruption of the old government, against the foreign usurpation of the new, and lastly against the treachery with which the French general bought and sold the republic of Venice.

Chiari and Piazza, and other common writers, had before published some hundreds of romances, which had been the delight only of the

vulgar reader; for those of a more refined taste had resorted to the foreign novels. The Letters of Ortis is the only work of the kind, the boldness of whose thoughts, and the purity of whose language, combined with a certain easy style, have suited it to the taste of every reader. It cannot be too often remarked, that it is principally the *style* which in all works attracts the admiration of the Italians; and it may here be mentioned, that their critics have laid it down as a rule, that the elements of their prose are to be collected only in the period between Dante and Machiavelli. This is the opinion of Alfieri[1].

Foscolo has followed this rule in his Ortis, and more scrupulously still in the Sentimental Journey, which he has translated with the words and phrases of the fourteenth century; not, however, to the prejudice of the conversational ease of our Yorick. This work, so popular in all foreign countries, had been twice before translated into Italian; but the torpidity of their style, and their repeated Gallicisms, had consigned these preceding versions to contempt. Foscolo published his translation under the name of Didimo Chierico; and in one of his

[1] See his answer to Calsabigi, in the edition of his tragedies by Didot.

many notes he gives us the following remarks on his native language. " *Le donne gentili insegnarono al Parroco Yorick, e a me suo Chierico, a sentire, e quindi a parlare men rozzamente; ed io per gratitudine aggiungerò questo avviso per esse. La lingua Italiana è un bel metallo che bisogna ripulire della ruggine dell' antichità, e depurare della falsa lega della moda; e poscia batterlo genuino in guisa che ognuno possa riceverlo e spenderlo con fiducia, e dargli tal conio che paja nuovo e nondimeno tutti sappiano ravvisarlo. Ma i letterati vostri non raccattano dagli antichi se non se il rancidume, e gli scienziati vi parlano franciosamente. I primi non hanno mente, gli altri non hanno cuore; e per quanti idiomi e' si sappiano, non avranno mai stile.*

The preponderance of French power during the reign of Louis XIV. and even in that of Louis XV., had infected the Italian language with an infinity of French phrases and idioms. The consciousness of the extreme corruption induced by the revolution has given rise to a zealous spirit of reform, which has itself degenerated into a superstitious worship of the ancients, and has rather augmented than diminished the licence of the opposite writers. We consequently find many works composed solely of phrases almost or entirely obsolete, and distinguished

neither for the energy of the old writers, nor for the ease of the new. Others, and they are the majority, terrified by the study of a language the abundance of whose words, and the variety of whose combinations, render it almost insuperable, affect that sort of style now so common throughout Europe, which they are pleased to call philosophical, and which, in fact, is but a jargon neither Italian nor French, but a bad mixture of both.

If, therefore, good writers are rare in all countries, they are more especially so in Italy; for they have to connect the generic characteristics constantly inherent for five centuries in the Italian language, with the specific characteristics of their own times: and this amalgamation, not depending upon any fixed rules, must be contrived solely by the individual talents of each author. This accounts for the surprising diversity which foreigners are apt to observe in the manner of writing employed by the various authors of the same age; and perhaps this same diversity is more remarkable in the prose of Foscolo than of other writers. The Italian author also makes it an article of faith to vary his style according to his subject. Thus there is no less a difference between the letters, the romances, and the orations, than between

the history and the epic or lyric poetry of these varied compositions. The Ortis and the Sentimental Journey resemble each other very little: notwithstanding that the author has followed the same rules of composition, and has always preserved the traits peculiar to his style. As for his *Discourse for the Congress of Lyons*, it appears evidently written by the same man, but in a different language.

He wrote this *Discourse* at the injunction of his government, when Bonaparte, in the year 1801, convoked at Lyons the *Notables* of the Cisalpine Republic. The directions given to the orator were to pronounce a panegyric; but Foscolo adopted a different course. He presented a moving picture of the wretched state of the laws, of the armies, of the finances, and of the moral condition of the new republic. The sects, both old and new, that distracted their country—the priests, the nobles, the democrats, the partisans of foreign usurpation, the adulatory writers, the libelists, the defrauders of the public revenue, the monopolists, who profited by the sale of the national property, are all handled with the same severity. The following description of the masters of the republic, if it degrades the nation in one respect, exalts it on the other hand; for there must be something

great in a people which can produce a single man who dares, in the cause of virtue, to paint his countrymen in such colours.

"*Uomini nuovi ci governavano, per educazione nè politici, nè guerrieri (essenziali doti ne' capi delle republiche); antichi schiavi, novelli tiranni, schiavi pur sempre di se stessi e delle circonstanze che nè sapeano nè voleano domare; fra i pericoli e l'amor del potere ondeggianti, tutto perplessamente operavano; regia autorità era in essi, ma per inopia di coraggio e d'ingegno, nè violenti nè astuti; conscj de' propri vizj, e quindi diffidenti, discordi addossantisi scambievoli vituperj; datori di cariche, e palpati, non temuti: alla plebe esosi come potenti; e come imbecilli, spregiati: convennero con jatanza di publico bene e libidine di primeggiare ma nè pensiero pure di onore; vili con gli audaci, audaci coi vili, spegneano le accuse coi beneficj e le querele con le minaccie; e per la sempre imminente rovina, di oro puntellati con la fortuna, di brighe con i proconsoli, e di tradimenti con i principi stranieri.*"

The chief cause of this general depravity he attributes to the absence of Bonaparte in Egypt, which allowed the French Directory to tyrannise over Italy, and to pillage her provinces, not only by their own missions and generals, but by the appointment of magistrates, timid, ignorant, and avaricious, some of whom were to

be found in that government which had assigned to Foscolo the pleasing duties of pronouncing their panegyric[1].

The praises bestowed by the orator upon the hero who was to remedy their national wrongs, magnificent as they are in some respects, are still associated with the boldest maxims, and with predictions which are seldom hazarded in the hour of victory. With what satisfaction may Foscolo now look back upon the following prophetic warning!

" *A ciascuno di tuoi pregi la storia contrappone e Tiberio solenne politico, e Marco Aurelio Imperadore filosofo, e Papa Leone X. ospite delle lettere. Che se molti di questi sommi, scarchi non vanno di delitti, uomini e mortali erano come sei tu, e non le speranze o il tremore de' contemporanei, ma la imperterrita posteritd le lor sentenze scriveva su la lor sepultura. Infiniti ed illustri esempj hanno santificata oramai quella massima de' sapienti: niun uomo doversi virtuoso predicare e beato anzi la morte.*"

After describing the distress of his country, the speaker, who calls himself *Giovine non affatto libero*, proposes certain remedies, and those

[1] See his Dedication—" Ai Membri del comitato del Governo."

he would apply not only to Italy, but to maintain the renown of that hero whose future glory he declares to depend principally on the durable independence of a nation which he had rescued from the slavery and disgrace of ages. Foscolo afterwards published this Discourse, with the following motto from Sophocles:—"MY SOUL GROANS FOR MY COUNTRY, FOR MYSELF, AND ALSO FOR THEE."

This discourse is not more than eighty pages: and notwithstanding it is an historical composition, maintains a certain impetuosity and gravity of style which overwhelm and fatigue the attention. The events are hinted at, not detailed; the development concerns only their causes and their results. This brevity might be agreeable to those who had been spectators of, or actors in, the short and transitory scene; but foreign readers, and even those Italians removed by time or place from the original action, are left in the dark. It would be difficult to prove that the style of Tacitus, which Foscolo has not only copied but exaggerated with the devotion of a youth enchanted by his model, can be well adapted to this sort of composition. The English, who have perhaps run into the opposite extreme,

will be astonished to hear that this Discourse was particularly esteemed by the critics, on account of its close resemblance to the Latin. We should call this pedantry: but it appears a meritorious exploit in the eyes of a nation, which, having for two hundred years diluted its language to insipidity, now lays it down for a maxim, that for the *graces* of style, the early Tuscan authors are to be consulted; and for the strength, and, if the word may be used, the nobility, of the language, the Latins are the only safe model. It must be confessed, that the origin of the language admits of this union. It is not unnatural that when they would discourse of liberty, they should have recourse to the manner of their Roman ancestors.

Bonaparte, at the congress of Lyons, changed the name of the Cisalpine into that of the Italian Republic. He appointed himself president of this new state, and promulgated a constitution which he continued to violate at will up to the other change which converted the Republic into a Kingdom, and placed the administration of Upper Italy in the hands of a French viceroy. The only effect of Foscolo's discourse was to stop his own military promotion: but the loss of fortune was more than compensated by the public gratitude, which pointed to him as the man who had spoken the sense of the people,

who had told the courageous truth, and had stood forward as the champion of national independence. It seems, however, that he continued in the army some time after this effort. The date of the preface to his Sentimental Journey shews that he was, in 1805, at Calais with one of the Italian regiments which Bonaparte had united to his *Army of England.* His dedication of the works of Montecuculi, published in 1808 and 1809, which is addressed to General Caffarelli, minister of war of the Italian kingdom, tells us that he was aid-de-camp to that officer.

Foscolo published his edition of Montecuculi in two volumes, in *folio*, from the manuscripts discovered in the archives of the last Prince Trivulzio, by Serassi, the biographer of Tasso; and more recently, by other enquirers. These manuscripts were more complete than those of the old incorrect edition, made just after the death of the author, which had never been reprinted, and was so much forgotten that Montecuculi was known only through the French and German translations. The object of Foscolo was more than literary: he wished by the example and precepts of an illustrious fellow citizen, to inspire the Italians with a portion of his martial spirit, as well as to replace the author in his due rank amongst the best classical writers. He placed Montecuculi by the

side of Machiavelli, and the compressed commanding style of the great rival of Turenne facilitated the labours of his editor in filling up the many blanks of the manuscript. Foscolo was commended for these supplements, and for his happy imitation of the original style; but he was accused of having been too licentious in his emendations of the text[1].

Montecuculi wrote his commentaries and his military aphorisms when the use of artillery was but imperfectly known, and when a great part both of the infantry and cavalry fought with pikes and halberds, and the principal object of every war was the attack and defence of fortified towns. Foscolo illustrated his author with notes of two kinds; some of them consisting of passages from the classics, serving to show the Greek and Roman art of war, and the others relating to the system of Frederic II. and of Napoleon. By this plan the editor meant to apply each precept of Montecuculi to the three principal epochs in the history of military art: the ancient, the middle, and the modern period. To each volume he subjoined dissertations written with precisely the same object: he calls Napoleon *il mag-*

[1] *Ha supplito alle lacune con lo stile del Montecucoli: ma Montecucoli nel proprio testo parla spesso con lo stile di Foscolo.* See—Giornale della Società d' Incorraggiamento, an. 1809.

giore guerriero delle età moderne, an eulogium which must be allowed far from extravagant, at the time that the two senates of France and of Italy declared him the *Thunderer of the Earth*, ("Jupiter foudroyant sur la terre,") and all the kings of Europe confessed the title to be fairly earned and duly bestowed.

The Viceroy Eugene had about this time won a battle of no great importance, against the Archduke John, in Hungary. The French chose to exalt this victory to a parallel with that of Montecuculi, who after two years of perseverance, and with an army of seven thousand men, had defeated seventy thousand Turks at a time when they were yet formidable in the field: this was at the famous battle of San Gothard. The *bulletins* observed that the Viceroy had been victorious on the same spot already illustrated by the exploits of *Montecuculi*, and had rivalled the skilful manœuvres of the Italian marshal. Foscolo devotes one of his dissertations to refute this encomium, and proves that neither the circumstances, nor the position, nor the place were the same; and he concludes by insinuating that such exaggerations might be injurious to the merit actually acquired by the Viceroy.

Foscolo was now sent as professor of literature to Pavia, to replace Monti who had been appointed historiographer. The new professor

opened his course of lectures by an essay on the *Origin and the Duties of Literature*[1]. It was his grand position, that "as society could neither be formed originally, nor afterwards kept together, except by the use of words, every abuse of this distinctive human faculty, must tend necessarily to the corruption of all social ties. Consequently, that the men of letters, being especially endowed with the power of words, are traitors to their duty whenever they neglect by their writings to excite the generous passions, to demonstrate useful truths, to add charms to virtue, and to direct the public opinions to the promotion of national prosperity."

He goes on to place his men of letters as independent mediators between the government which applies to force alone, and has a natural tendency to despotism, and the people, who have no less a natural inclination towards licentiousness and slavery. He looks for the proof of these principles in the history of all nations; and the more he exults in the utility of literature, the more he declaims against the vanity and the baseness both of those who sell their abilities to a tyrant, and of those who employ them in administering to the odious passions and the capricious follies of the multitude. It was

[1] Dell' Origine e dell' Ufficio della Letteratura.—Milano, 1809.

an old and constant practice in Italy to insert an eulogy of the actual government in the opening discourses of every professor. Foscolo departed from this ceremony, and subjoined a note, saying, "*that it belongs to history alone to speak in a becoming manner of great sovereigns.*" He then cited a decree of Augustus Cæsar, which forbad the small poets and orators to disgrace his name by their ephemeral praises.

The professorships of literature not only at Pavia, but also at Bologna[1] and Padua, were forthwith suppressed by the government. Many other professorships underwent the same fate; namely, those for the Greek and for the Oriental languages, for history, for the knowledge of medals, and, in short, for all those branches of study not strictly belonging to medicine, to jurisprudence, and to the mathematics. Foscolo retained his *chair* only two months; and about twenty-four other professors, who had not involved themselves in the guilt of preaching his principles, were also deprived of their emoluments, after many years of literary labour. It would be hazardous to say whether the discourse of Foscolo provoked this measure, or whether it

[1] On this occasion the celebrated Mezzophanti, professor of Oriental languages, and the most extraordinary linguist in existence, was deprived of his chair, and reduced to an income of 750 francs.

had been some time in agitation, but, at all events, the Italians were struck with the verification of the words of their own Alfieri, who had told them that *absolute monarchs hate the historian, and the poet, and the orator, and give preference to the sciences*[1]. Perhaps it may not be uncharitable to add, that the scientific, compared with the literary writers of every nation, repay with corresponding submission the partiality of royal patronage.

Padua, Pavia, and Bologna, beheld the sudden decline of the institutions, which had been the ancient ornament of their towns. Four and twenty lyceums were founded in the respective departments of the Kingdom, with the pretext of reinstating some of the professors ejected from the three universities; but it was impossible to find a sufficient number of learned individuals, or adequate salaries for all these establishments, in every branch of science and of literature; and the consequence of this dispersion, as well as of the multiplied foundations, was, that the place of professor was degraded from those high privileges and that respectability of character which had made it for centuries an object of Italian ambition.

The Cavalier Lamberti, a declared adversary of this writer, and one of those before alluded

[1] See the article on Alfieri.

to, who possess the reputation of great scholars, examining the works of Foscolo, calls them, *tenebrose per certo stile lor proprio di oscurità misteriosa e d'idee affollate e appena accennate, à d'eloquenza compressa sdegnosamente; quasi che questo autore non voglia per lettori che i suoi pari*[1].

Hippolitus Pindemonte reproaches him with the same defect, but in the tone more of a poet than a critic, and less of a censor than of a friend. "Your style," he says, "resembles the Rhone, which flows rapidly from the limpid lake of Geneva, and is lost under the Alps, to the regret of the traveller, who knows not how it has disappeared, and who finds himself obliged to wander on for some distance before he again beholds its azure current, and hears the sound of its rapid stream[2]." The political topics which have been generally selected for the subject of his performances, have, perhaps, induced this writer to leave us to guess that which he did not like to say openly. It is, however, equally true that the constant intensity of thought which he requires of his readers must be traced either to the peculiar mode in which his ideas are origi-

[1] See—in the Milanese Review—the Poligrafo, the articles signed Y.

[2] See—Pindemonte's epistle in verse addressed to Hugo Foscolo.

nally conceived, or to his wish to give them a new turn. Indeed all his writings bear the mark of meditation, although much forethought cannot be discovered in his familiar conversation, in which he gives a loose to all his ideas as they first present themselves. A literary lady has described him as *parlatore felicissimo e fecondo*[1], and this copious eloquence is accompanied with an incessant agitation of limb and body; which, however, is, when he harangues in public, converted into an absolute inactivity. It is told of him that he has spoken for hours at the councils of war with his hands fixed on the back of a chair, without indulging in the slightest action.

This fact, incredible as it may be to such as have seen Mr. Foscolo only in private society, will not be lost upon those who please themselves with discriminating between the different modes of intellectual exertion, and who will be obliged to account for so singular a discrepancy by recollecting that Foscolo may have deliberately preferred this motionless eloquence. The truth is, as we find in his *Discourse upon Literature*, that he decries the *quackery* of the latter orators of Athens by praising the more ancient speakers, who harangued in the manner of Pericles, wrapped up in their *clamys*, without gesture or melody: *Peroravano avvolti, all' uso di Pericle, nella clamide, senza gesto nè melodia.*

[1] Ritratti scritta dalla Contessa Isabella Albrizzi.

The published poetry of this writer is confined to two odes, and a little work called *I Sepolcri*, written when it was forbidden to bury the dead in family tombs.

> Pur nuova legge impone oggi i sepolcri
> Fuor de' guardi pietosi, e il nome a' morti
> Contende.

According to the provisions of this new law, all bodies, without distinction, were to be interred in public cemeteries without the towns, and the size of the sepulchral stone was prescribed, and the epitaphs were subject to the revision and approval of the magistrates. The aim of Foscolo in this poem appears to be the proof of the influence produced by the memory of the dead on the manners and on the independence of nations.

It may be sufficient to quote a specimen which will be more easily understood by those who have visited the church of Santa Croce at Florence.

> *Io quando il monumento*
> *Vidi ove posa il corpo di quel grande*
> *Che temprando lo scettro a' regnatori*
> *Gli allôr ne sfronda, ed alle genti svela*
> *Di che lagrime grandi e di che sangue*[1]*;*
> *E l' arca di colui che nuovo Olimpo*
> *Alzò in terra a' celesti*[2]*; e di chi vide*

[1] Machiavelli. [2] Michael Angelo.

Sotto l' etereo padiglion rotarsi
Più mondi, e il Sole irradiarli immoto,[1]
Onde all' Anglo che tanta ala vi stese[2]
Sgombrò primo le vie del Firmamento:
Te beata! gridai, per le felici
Aure pregne di vita, e pe' lavacri
Che da suoi gioghi a te versa Apennino:
Lieta dell' aer tuo, veste la Luna
Di luce limpidissima i tuoi colli
Per vendemmia festanti; e le convalli
Popolate di case e d' oliveti
Mille di fiori al Ciel mandano incensi:
E tu prima, Firenze, udivi il carme
Che allegrò l' ire al Ghibellin fuggiasco;[3]
E tu i cari parenti e l' idioma
Desti a quel dolce di Calliope labbro[4]
Che Amore in Grecia nudo, e nudo in Roma
D' un velo candidissimo adornando
Rendea nel grembo a Venere Celeste.
Ma più beata che in un tempio accolte
Serbi le Itale glorie (ultime forse!)
Da che le malvietate Alpi e l' alterna
Onnipotenza delle umane sorti
Armi, e sostanze t' invadeano, ed are
E Patria, e, tranne la memoria, tutto.

This poem contains only three hundred lines, but it called forth pamphlets and criticisms in every shape, and from all quarters. The younger writers tried to imitate it: the critics pro-

[1] Galileo.
[2] Newton.
[3] Dante.
[4] Petrarch.

ounced it to have brought about a reform in
e lyrical poetry of Italy. The academy of
rescia proposed a prize for the best Latin
anslation, and awarded their premium to the
rofessor Frederic Borgno, who soon after pub-
shed his version in hexameters, accompanied
ith a dissertation, a passage of which may
e quoted to shew the tone of Italian criti-
ism.

" *It is the business of lyrical poetry, properly
o called, to present to us interesting facts so as to
xcite our strongest feelings, and to promulgate
hose opinions which tend to the prosperity of na-
ions. Any ten verses which do not furnish the
ainter with images sufficient to compose an his-
orical picture, which do not shake the soul by the
oble recollections they recal, by the generous
assions they awaken, which do not engrave in
uminous characters some useful truth upon the
ind—these verses may, I confess, be admirable
n their kind, but they do not belong to lyrical
oetry. The prophetic portion of the Bible, some
f the hymns attributed to Homer, Pindar, Ca-
ullus in his marriage of Peleus, the sixth eclogue
f Virgil, the episodes in the Georgics, a dozen of
he odes of Horace, six of the canzoni of Petrarch,
a few of Chiabrera, of Guidi, of Filicaja, those of
Dryden, and two of Gray, are really lyrical. All
he other poetry of Petrarch, and of those called*

lyrical, may be justly praised, and may charm a greater number of readers even than those above cited, but it is necessary to adopt the division of Cicero, in his distinction between poetæ lyrici *et* melici. *Pindar belongs to the first; Sappho, Anacreon, and Simonides, to the second.*"

The Italians are fond of these classifications, and indulge in them more than we should esteem profitable to the study of language. But it is also true, that their critics seldom praise even their favourite authors with the indiscriminate fury of our eulogists. Mr. Borgno subjoins to his notice of Chiabrera, Guidi, and Filicaja, a list of exceptions to their merits which might surprise a foreigner, accustomed to think of the name, rather than the works of their authors. According to this authority, sonorous words, and a magnificence of verse and of phrase, are substituted by these writers for the requisite variety of harmony and of imagery, whilst they are totally deficient in the *chiaroscuro* of poetry, and have chosen subjects which either are not national, or, what is as bad, are totally incapable of interesting their nation.

Mr. Borgno quotes other poetical works of Foscolo, which appear to be in the same style, and, amongst others, his *Alceus*, which describes the political vicissitudes of Italian poetry from the fall of the eastern empire to the present

lay. He alludes, also, to *The Graces*, a poem, n three cantos. Both the one and the other re, however, inedited, and are known only by some fragments.

The blank verses of Foscolo are totally different from those of any other author. Each verse has its peculiar pauses and accents placed according to the subject described. His melancholy sentiments move in a slow and measured pace, his lively images bound along with the rapid march of joy. Some of his lines are composed almost entirely of vowels, others almost entirely of consonants; and whatever an Englishman may think of this imitation of sense by sound, (a decried effort since the edict of Dr. Johnson), the Italian poet has at least succeeded in giving a different *melody* to each verse, and in varying the *harmony* of every period.

It is perhaps necessary to be an Italian to feel the full effect of these combinations; but the scholar of every country may perceive that Foscolo has formed himself on the Greek model, not only in this particular, but in other branches of his art. In fact he was born in the Ionian islands, as he himself tells us at the end of one of his odes.

" Fra l' Isole
Che col selvoso dorso
Rompono agli Euri, e al grande Ionio il corso,

Ebbi in quel mar la culla:
Ivi errai ignudo spirito
Di Faon la Fanciulla;
E se il notturno Zefiro
Blando sui flutti spira
Suonano i liti un lamentar di lira."

Two tragedies, the *Ricciarda* and the *Ajax*, by the same author, were stopped by the government after the first representation. They excited a great curiosity from motives not altogether poetical. It was reported that Moreau was his Ajax, that Napoleon was to figure in his Agamemnon, and that his holiness the Pope would be easily recognised in Chalcas. The known principles of Foscolo facilitated the recognition of these originals, who, after all, perhaps, never sat to the poet for their likenesses. Whatever were his intentions, he received immediate orders to quit the kingdom of Italy, and to reside in some town of the French empire. He accordingly fixed his abode at Florence, at that time a department of France.

Foscolo has lived and written in a state of open war with the writers of the day, and the reigning political parties. It is not surprising, therefore, that he has been severely handled in publications of every kind, and particularly in the journals, which will be found to contain imputations against him not confined to his literary life. He was never personal in his first attacks;

and he never replied to the personalities of others. He even affected so complete a contempt for them as to republish and distribute some of the libels written against himself. Perhaps he is not aware that this apparent moderation is any thing rather than a proof of his indifference to attack.

In England these demonstrations of contempt would be suspected, and would be ridiculous: and even in Italy Mr. Foscolo has been justly charged with pushing them to an unjust exposure of men who were the most disposed to be his literary friends and admirers. He published nearly 300 pages in large octavo, upon the translated elegy of Catullus, *De Coma Berenices*: the whole lucubration being a grave and continued irony on the verbal criticisms of the commentators. Some of the learned fell into the snare; and Foscolo, who had issued only a few copies, now added a *Farewell* to his readers, in which he repays their praises by exposing the mysteries and the abuses of the philological art. Those whom he had deceived must have been not a little irritated to find that his frequent citations were invented for the occasion, and that his commentary had been purposely sprinkled with many of the grossest faults. Neither the merit nor the success of such a pleasantry can be intelligible to an English reader: but it should be told that Foscolo, with the same patriotism

which seems the devouring passion of his soul, contrived this deception partly to warn the commentators that it was their duty also, as well as that of other writers, to devote themselves to the excitement of generous sentiments in the bosom of their countrymen[1].

Foscolo is an excellent scholar: his knowledge of Greek is far superior to that of many of his most distinguished fellow-country men: he writes Latin with facility and elegance. A little book in that language, called *Didymi Clerici Prophetæ Minimi Hypercalypseos, liber singularis*, has been attributed, and, it is believed, justly, to his pen. It appears to be a satire against the journalists, the learned pensioners of the court, the Royal Institute, and the senate of the kingdom of Italy; but it is an enigma from beginning to end to any one not furnished with the key to the individual allusions. This obscurity shewed at least, that he did not care to engage the multitude on his side, and that he was indifferent as to the dispersion of his own feelings of contempt for the men of letters of the Italian court.

The lady whose opinions have been before quoted, talks of the literary intolerance of Fos-

[1] See—La Chioma di Berenice, Milano, 1803. *La Bibliotheque Italianne*, a French review, published at Turin, and *Il Diario Italiano* for November and December of the same year.

colo as the offspring of his reflection, not of his disposition. " A warm friend, but sincere as the mirror itself, that neither deceives nor conceals. Kind, generous, grateful; his virtues appear those of savage nature, when seen in the midst of the sophisticated reasoners of our days. He would tear his heart from his bosom, if he thought that a single pulsation was not the unconstrained and free movement of his soul[1]."

Although Foscolo had studied under Cesarotti, and had been encouraged by the voice of that generous master, he loudly disapproved of the translation of Homer, and more decidedly still of the Pronéa. He was a long time nearly connected with Monti, who frequently mentions him with applause; and, in his illustrations of Persius, foretells that his young friend will, one day or the other, be the first poet of the age. In the last years of the French government, an intimacy with Foscolo was not favourable to court promotion. Monti and the future Corypheus of the poets became cool to each other, and would not willingly meet in the same society; but either reciprocal fear, or the me-

[1] *Intollerante più per riflessione che per natura: amico fervido; ma sincero come lo specchio, che non inganna, nè illude. Pietoso, generoso, riconoscente, pare un selvaggio in mezzo a' filosofi de' nostri dì. Si strapperebbe il cuore dal petto se liberi non gli paressero i risalti tutti del suo cuore.* See—Ritratti scritti dalla Contessa Isabella Albrizzi.

mory of their ancient alliance has not allowed any written attack from either adversary. An Englishman wished, when at the Scala theatre at Milan in 1816, to give the Death of Ortis as a subject for an improvisatore; but a friend said to him, "*It will not be chosen: Monti is behind the scenes, and will hear nothing said in favour of Ortis or of Foscolo.*" The same influence, joined to that of the police, was pronounced fatal also to the *Apotheosis* of Alfieri[1]. There is a story current respecting the last interview of these two poets, which may illustrate and contrast the character of both. They were dining at the house of Count Veneri, minister of the public treasury: Monti, as usual, launched out against Alfieri, according to the court tone of the day: "All his works together," said he, "are not worth a song of Metastasio's"—— "*Stop there, Sir,*" interrupted Foscolo, "*or I will twirl round you and your party as well as ever top was whipped by a school-boy.*" As far as respects his other great cotemporaries, he has never spoken of Pindemonte but with esteem, nor ever names Alfieri without admiration. The instructions he received from Parini have mingled a tender recollection with the reverence with which he dwells upon his character, in the letters of Ortis.

[1] See—note to Stanza LIV. of Childe Harold, Canto IV page 152.

In spite of his opposition to the French, and of his repeated declaration, that the representative rights belong only to the landed proprietors, it is easy to discern that Foscolo is a pupil of the Revolution. In truth, he imputes the misfortunes of Italy to the cowardice, the ignorance, and the egotism of the nobles. He owes his popularity rather to his conduct than to his maxims, or even to his works; for the first are not qualified to obtain the favour of the majority, and the second are above the common class of readers.

The admirers of Napoleon may behold in this author a rebellious subject, but a sincere eulogist wherever he has thought fit to praise. The truth is, that Napoleon conferred upon Italy all the benefit that a country divided and enslaved could possibly expect from a conqueror. To him she owed her union; to him, her laws and her arms: her new activity, and her recovered martial spirit, were inspired by his system. But Foscolo was a citizen of the Venetian republic which Napoleon destroyed, and there exist in Italy a very numerous class, who consider the independence of their country as the first indispensable step towards her regeneration. Foscolo, as well as some others, who, when the Italian republic

was degraded into a subsidiary kingdom, were named amongst the electoral colleges, contrived never to attend, because he would not take the oath of allegiance. But he did not find it impossible to live under the dominion of the French. The Austrians in their turn required from him personally an oath of fidelity to their Emperor. Foscolo refused to them what he would not grant to Napoleon. But he could not breathe under their depressive system. He became a voluntary exile, and his adieus to his countrymen are couched in the language of proud resignation. *Let not the minister of the Austrian police continue to persecute me in my Swiss asylum; tell him that I am far from wishing to excite the hopeless passions of my fellow citizens. We were in want of arms; they were given to us by France, and Italy had again a name amongst the nations. In the access of our inflammatory fever, the loss of blood could not harm us, and the death of a single man would have inevitably produced changes favourable to all the nations who should have courage to profit by the happy juncture. But it was ordained otherwise: the affairs of the world have been turned into another and an unexpected channel. The actual disease of Italy is a slow lethargic consumption, she will soon be nothing but a lifeless carcass; and*

her generous sons should only weep in silence, without the impotent complaints and the mutual recrimination of slaves [1].

CONCLUSION.

It is hoped that the preceding pages may have furnished a general notion of the state of literature in Italy during the last fifty years. More extensive limits would have comprised more copious extracts from the cited authors, would have noticed other writers, and would have included not only a view of the education of the Italians, but of their style and taste, and present productions in all the branches of literature; little indeed has been done in comparison of what remains to do, but on the reception of what has been already offered will depend whether any thing more shall be attempted. A great question at this moment divides the learned world in Italy into the partisans of clas-

1 *Senza querele impotenti, nè recriminazioni da Servi.* This was inserted in the Lugano Gazette, for April 14, 1815, in an article written to answer a book with the title *Memoria storica della Rivoluzione di Milano, seguito il 20 Aprile* 1814, *Parisi* 1815. Published by some senators of the kingdom of Italy.

sical poetry, and of the poetry of romance. The first, of course, range Homer in the front of their battle; and the others, who have adopted the division of Madame de Stael, and talk of a literature of the North, and a literature of the South, have still the courage to depend upon Ossian for their principal champion. The first would adhere solely to the mythology of the ancients; the other party would banish it totally from all their compositions. It would not be very difficult to state the true merits of this idle enquiry, on the decision of which may, however, depend the turn taken by the literature of the next half century. But this also must be left for another opportunity. In the mean time it may be allowed to mention, that the Italians themselves are far from ungrateful to those foreigners, especially the English, who evince a desire to be acquainted with their literature: but that they are for the most part surprised at our original misconceptions, and do not a little complain of the false impressions communicated by the ignorance of those, even amongst their expatriated countrymen, who have presumed to be our instructors.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

TASSO.

THE public library at Ferrara, founded in 1740, by Joseph Carli, a rich citizen of that town, contains the following autographs, jealously preserved in the same compartment which holds the chair and inkstand of Ariosto.

1. The Jerusalem.
2. The Orlando, an imperfect copy.
3. One of the satires of Ariosto.
4. His comedy, La Scolastica.
5. The Pastor Fido.
6. A small octavo of fifty-three pages of *rime*, with the dedication "Alle Signore Principesse di Ferrara." In this autograph of Tasso's there is scarcely a word scratched out. The poems open with

"Due Donne Amor m' offerse illustri e rare."

There are variations from the Florence and Venice editions of these rhymes, which perhaps

might make it worth while to publish them from this manuscript.

7. Fifteen Letters, of which thirteen are Ariosto's, written either in his own name, or in that of Alessandra Strozzi, and all of which have been published in the duodecimo Venice edition, in 6 vols. The remaining two are in the handwriting of the lady, and one of them, with a postscript of Ariosto's, has been published in Baruffaldi's life of that poet; the other letter has never been published, nor contains any thing curious.

Lastly, Eight Letters, written by Tasso when in the hospital of St. Anna, together with a testamentary memoir, written when he set out on his journey to France. The letters, with the exception of one which appeared in the Poligrafo, a periodical work, edited at Milan during the reign of Napoleon, have, it is believed, never been published. They do not establish any new facts, but are not altogether devoid of interest. A translation of one of them has been already inserted amongst these Notices. There is also a copy of verses, beginning

"Gentilezza di sangue e gloria antica,"

which has been before published. Serassi mentions the will as having been in the possession of Baruffaldi of Cento, and as being no longer

in the library belonging to the nephew of that learned person. It thus appears that the biographer had never seen the original, and it is certain that he followed an imperfect copy, for he has omitted the postscript or reference, which is interesting so far as it illustrates the scanty wardrobe of the poet, and consequently the mean patronage of the house of Este. On this account the reader may not object to see an exact copy of the memorial, notwithstanding the translation of an imperfect one has been already presented to him by a late English author.

A difficulty has suggested itself to Serassi respecting the date of the will, which he contends cannot be that of the copy which he followed, for Tasso had left Ferrara before 1573, the year marked in the printed document: the date preferred by the biographer is 1570. The fact is, that the manuscript is written on a doubled sheet of paper, of which the will itself occupies the two sides of the first half sheet, and the epitaph on his father, and the reference to the goods in pawn, are on the third opposite page. The date is at the bottom of the second page, and having been worn away from the doubling of the sheet, the fourth figure cannot be decyphered.

THE WILL.

Benche la vita è frale, se piacesse al S^r^ Iddio disporre altro di me in questo viaggio di francia, sia pregato il Sig^or^ Hercole Rondinelli â prender cura d' alcune mie cose; e prima in quanto alle mie compositioni procuri di raccogliere i miei sonetti amorosi, e i madrigali, e gli mandi in luce; gli altri o amorosi o in altra materia, c' ho fatti per servigio d' alcuno amico, desidero che restino sepolti con esso meco, fuor che quel solo. " Hor che l' aura mia dolce alterne spira." L' oratione ch' io feci in Ferrara nel principio dell' academia havrei caro che fosse vista, et similmente quattro libri del poema heroico. Del Gottifredo i sei ultimi canti, e de' due primi quelle stanze che saranno giudicate men ree, sì veramente che tutte queste cose siano reviste et considerate, prima dal Sig^r^. Scip. Gonzaga, dal Sig^or^. Domenico Veniero, e dal Sig^or^. Batt^ta^. Guarino, i quali per l' amicitia e servitù ch' io ho con loro, mi persuado che non ricuseranno questo fastidio. Sappiano però che mia intentione sarebbe che troncassero e risecassero, senza risparmio tutte le cose ch' o men buone o soperchie giudicassero; ma nel aggiungere o nel mutare andassero più ritenuti, non potendosi questo poema vedere se non imperfetto..... Dell' altre mie compositioni, s' al suddetto Sig^or^. Rondinelli, et a prefati sig^ri^. alcuna

ne parebbe non indegna d' essere vista, sia loro libero l' arbitrio di disporne; le mie robbe che sono in pegno presso Abram ———, per xxv lire, et sette pezzi di razzi che sono in pegno per 13 scudi appresso il Sig^or^. Ascanio, e quelle che sono in questa casa, desidero che si vendino e del sopravanzo de dinari se ne faccia uno epitafio a mio padre, il cui corpo è in San Polo; et l' epitafio sarà l' infrascritto; et s' in alcuna cosa nascesse qualche impedimento, ricorra il Sig^or^. Hercole al favor dell' Ecc^ma^. Mad^a^. Leonora, la qual confido che p' amor mio gliene sarà liberale.

Io torq tasso scrissi fer^a^.

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Bernardo taxo (Principum negoⁱⁱˢ*) Musarum ocio et Principum negotiis sum^a^ ingenii ubertate atque excellentia pari fortunæ varietate ac inconstantia relictis utriusque industriæ monumentis clariss^o^. torquat^s^. filius posuit. vixit an septuaginta et sex. obi an. 1569. die 4° Septemb.

Robbe che son presso Abram in via Cussa.
Due padiglioni.
Due colore turchesche guarnite di xendallo.
Un tornaletto di Razzo.
Due anteporti.

* *Principum negoⁱⁱˢ*. These words are struck out in the MSS. Tasso thought better of the Muses than the Princes, and changed the precedence.

M. R^do^. mio Oss^mo^.

Nel foglio giunto temo, che vi sia corso un' errôr di penna, ma non ne sono ben sicuro: comunque sia, avertite che si legga così, e che non esca altramente.

Se la felicità è premio, l' infelicità è pena: Ma la felicità è premio intrinseco della virtù. Dunque l' infelicità è pena interiore del vitio. E mi vi raccomando. Di S. Anna il xxvi. di Giugno.

Di V. S. Ser^e^. il Tasso.

Al M^to^. R^o^. mio Col^mo^.
Don Gio. Bat^ta^. Licinio.

Very Reverend my very Respectable,

In the sheet which is arrived I fear
at there is an error of the pen, but I am not
ite sure of it: however it may be, take care
at it is read thus, and that it is not published
herwise.

" If happiness is a reward, unhappiness is a
nishment: but happiness is the intrinsic re-
ard of virtue; then unhappiness is the internal
nishment of vice:" and I recommend myself
you.

From S^{t}. Anna, the 26th of June.

From your servt.

Tasso.

o the very reverend my very venerable
Don Giovanni Batt^{a}. Licinio.

M. Mag^co^. Sig^r^. mio Ossm^o^.

Non posso acquetar l' animo, s' io non sono certo del vostro buono stato: però vi prego che me ne diate aviso, e se come io credo sete risanato, mi farete piacere a venire a vedermi: cosi piaccia a la Providenza del Sig^re^. Iddio, d' averci in protettione.

Di S. Anna il x di Sett^re^. del 1584.

Di. V. S.

Aff^mo^. Ser^r^. Torq^to^. Tasso.

Al M . Magn^co^. Sig^r^. mio
Oss^mo^. il Sig^r^. Luca Scalabrino.

Very magnif. and my respect: le Signor.

I cannot set my mind at ease, if I am not sure of your well-being: therefore I pray you to give me information concerning it, and if, as I believe, you are recovered, that you will do me the pleasure to come and see me: may it please the Providence of the Lord God, to keep you in his protection.

S^{t}. Anna, the 10th of September, 1584.

Of your Worship

The most affect. serv^{t}. Torq. Tasso.

For the very Magn. my Lord,
the very respectable Signor
Luca Scalabrino[1].

[1] No enquiry has been able to discover who this Scalabrino was.

M. Mag^co^. Sig^re^.

Mando à V. S. cinque camice le quali hanno tutte bisogno d' essere racconcie: Le dia al suo parente: e l' avertisca, che non vorrei che fosser mescolate con l' altre: e mi verrà* fare piacere di venire un giorno seco à parlarmi: frattanto aspetto quella risposta, che V. S. mi promise di sollecitare, ne dia ricordo a l' amico, e le bacio le mani. Di S. Anna il 4 di Gen^ro^. del 1585.

Di V. S.

S^r^. certiss^mo^. Torq^to^. Tasso.

Se non può venir col parente venga solo, c' ho bisogno di parlarle: e faccia lavare il drappo nel quale sono inviluppate le camice.

Al M^to^. Magn^co^. Sig^re^.
Il Sig^r^. Luca Scalabrino.

* Thus in the MSS.

Very Magnificent Signor,

I send your lordship *five* shirts, all of which want mending. Give them to your relation; and let him* know that I do not wish them to be mixed with the others; and that he will gratify me by coming one day with you to see me. In the mean while I wait for that answer which your lordship promised to solicit for me. Put your friend in mind of it. I kiss your lordship's hand,

Of your Worship

The very faithful servant,

Torquato Tasso.

From S. Anna, the 4th of Jan. 1585.

If you cannot come with your relation, come alone. I want to speak to you. And get the cloth washed in which the shirts are wrapped up.

To the very Magnificent Signor,
The Signor Luca Scalabrino.

* Or *her*.

Molto Mag^co^. Sig^re^. come Fratello.

Scrivo a l' Illmo Sig^e^. nostro padrone: e gli raccomando il negotio de la mia vita, pero credo che non abbia alcun bisogno di ricordo: il ricordo nondimeno a voi medesimo: e mi vi raccomando. Da Ferrara il xi d'Aprile del 1585.

Di V. S.

come Fratello P. Ser^la^. Torq^to^. Tasso.

Al molto Mag^co^. Sig^r^. Giorgio
Alessio mio Oss^mo^.

Very Mag^{t}. Signor and dear as my Brother.

I write to the Most Illustrious Lord our master: and I recommend to him the business of my life—however I believe that he has not any need of a remembrancer: nevertheless I remind you yourself of it: and I recommend myself to you.

From Ferrara, the 11th of April, 1585.

Of your Worship,

The Brother to serve you, Torq^{to}. Tasso.

To the very Mag. Sig^{or}. George
Alessio, my most respectable.

Illmo. e Rmo. Sig. e Proñ. mio Colmo.

Dopo la prigionia, e l' infermità di molti anni, se le mie pene non hanno purgato gli errori, almeno la clemenza di V. S. Illmâ può facilimente perdonarli; laonde io stimo, che la sua benignità mi faccia più lecito di supplicare arditamente, che non suol fare la mia calamità. La suplico dunque che non consenta a si lunga ostinazione de gli Uomini, nè voglia, che dia fine a la mia grave miseria la morte, ma la pietà: e quantunque ciò le fosse più facile ne lo stato de la Chiesa, che in alcuno altro: nondimeno in questo di Ferrara non le sarà difficile: perchè il Ser^mo. Sig^r. Duca non mi tiene in alcuna sua prigione, ma ne' lo Spedale di S. Anna: dove, i frati e i preti posson visitarmi a voglia loro, nè sono impediti di farmi giovamento. E'l cenno di V. S. Illma. potrebbe esser Legge a tutti non che ammonitione: Oltrediciò può giovarmi in diverse maniere co' suoi Bolognesi medesimi: et in ciascuna d' esse mostrarmi la sua bontà congiunta a l' autorità: et in ciascuna, obbligarmi alla sua Casa, et a se stessa perpetuamente. Ma forse io non la supplico arditamente come havea detto, e come dovrei: perchè non basta la sanità, senza la libertà; e l' una, scompagnata da l' altra sarebbe

Most Illustrious and most Rev. and my most respectable Lord.

After my imprisonment, and the infirmity of many years, if my pains have not purged away my errors, at least the clemency of Your Most Illustrious Lordship may easily pardon them: therefore I think that your benignity will make it allowable to ask with more courage, than my calamity is wont to assume—I supplicate you, then, that you will interpose against the long and cruel perseverance of some men, nor suffer that death alone should be the close of my heavy sufferings—let them rather be terminated by compassion; for although that might be more easy to you in the territory of the Church, than in any other; nevertheless, in this of Ferrara it will not be very difficult: because the Most Serene Lord Duke does not detain me in any of his prisons, but in the Hospital of St. Anna, where the brothers and the priests may visit me at their pleasure, and are not prevented from administering to my wants. Besides, a hint from Your Most Illustrious Lordship would be not only an admonition, but a law to all: in addition to which, you may assist me in different ways amongst your Bolognese themselves; and in each demonstration of kindness give me a proof both

assai piccol dono di cosi gran Cardinale. Adunque le chiedo insieme. E benche sia quasi disperato di risanare, nondimeno i salutiferi medicamenti, e gli efficaci rimedii, e l' allegrezza di vedermi libero potrebbono ritornarmi nel primo stato: ma sopratutto la gratia di N. S^re. è di V. S. Illma. e la quale non dico il modo come possa farlo: perche la prudenza glie le manifesta e l' alto grado glie le agevola—ma le scopro il bisogno, e la necessità, e l' infelicità degna di ritrovar compassione ne l' animo suo religiosiss^mo.: e le bacio humiliss^te. le mani. Di Ferrara il xii d' Aprile del 1585.

Di V. S. Illma.

Humiliss^mo. Ser^o. Torquato Tasso.

All' Ill^mo. et Rmo. Sig^re. e
Padron mio Colendiss^o.
il Sig^r. Cardinal Bon
Compagno

Roma.

of your goodness and of your authority; and moreover lay me under perpetual obligations to yourself and to your house. But perhaps I do not ask you with courage, as I had said I would, and as I ought to do; for health is not enough without liberty, and the one unaccompanied by the other would be a very small gift from so great a Cardinal. I ask, then, for both at once. And though I almost despair of being cured, nevertheless, salutary medicines, efficacious remedies, and the joy of finding myself free, might restore me to my former condition; but I account above all the favour of our Lord (the Pope) and of your most Illustrious Lordship; although I do not tell you the manner in which you may perform it; because it will be suggested by your prudence, and made easy by your high rank. All that I venture to disclose is, those wants, and that misfortune, which are truly worthy of awakening the compassion of your most religious soul: and I most humbly kiss your hands.

Of your most Illust. Lordship,
The most humble servant,
Torquato Tasso.

Ferrara the 12th of April, 1585.

To the most Illust. and most Rev. and my very venerable Patron, the Lord Cardinal Bon Compagno. Rome.

M. Mag^co^. Sig^r^. mio Ossmo.

Supplicai l' altro giorno al Ser . Sig^r^. Duca di Ferrara: che mi facesse gratia di molte cose, e particolarmente di rendermi le mie robe. Le quali fosser consegnate a Don Giovan B^ta^. et a voi: nè debbo dubitare, da S. Altezza la gratia, ch' è molto picciola a la sua clemenza, et a la mia calamità: però vi piaccia di parlarne al Sig^r^. Crispo, et al Sig^r^. Cole .^mo^: hora vi mando per Don Giò: Batta. Licinio cinque lettere d' opp^ni^: e di risposte. Le quali vorrei, che si stampassero con l'Apologia—non vogliate vi prego mancarmi della vostra promessa: e questo vi scrivo non per dubbio, ch' io n' abbia; ma per desiderio d' un altro anello. Serbate per l' ultimo foglio la ded^ne^. et amatemi. Di S. Anna il vii di Maggio del 1585.

Di V.
Ser^te^. il Tasso.

Pos. mio nipote vorrebbe una beretta, fate che le sia fatta: che de l'anello parlerò poi.

Al Molto Mag^co^. Sig^r^.
mio Oss^mo^. Il Sig^r^.
Luca Scalabrino.

My very magnificent and respectable Signor,

I intreated, the other day, the most Serene Lord Duke of Ferrara, that he would grant me sundry favours, and particularly that he would restore to me my goods, so that they might be consigned to Don Giovanni Battista and to you: nor ought I to doubt of receiving from his Highness this favour, which is but a very small one, both in proportion to his clemency, and to my calamity; therefore be pleased to speak of it to Signor Crispo, and to the Signor, my other respectable friend. I now send you for Don Giovanni Battista Licinio five letters of objections, and of answers, which I should wish to be printed with the apology: do not, I pray you, fail in your promise to me: I write this to you, not from any doubt, but from the desire of another ring. Keep the dedication for the last sheet, and love me.

From your Servant,

Tasso.

St. Anna, the 7th of May, 1585.

Postscript.—My nephew wants a cap; get one made for him: I will speak to you about the ring afterwards.

For my very magnificent and respectable Signor, the Signor Luca Scalabrino.

M. Mag^co. Sig^e. mio Oss^mo.

Io diedi i Mesi passati a V. S. un libro del Sig^e. Alessandro Gendaglia: nel quale erano alcuni miei concieti, hora ha mandato un suo a dimandarlomi. Laonde vi prego, che glie le diate: et havendo qualche risposta de l' Illmo. Patriarca Gonzaga, mi farete piacere di portarlami senza indugio e vi bacio le mani. Di S. Anna il p^mo. di Dicem^re. del 1585.

Di V. S.
Ser^e. Torq^to. Tasso.

Al M^to. Mag^co. Sig^r.
mio Oss^mo. il Sig.
Luca Scalabrino.

Very magnif. and respect. Signor.

I gave, during the last months, to your Worship a book of the Signor Alessandro Sendaglia, in which were some thoughts of my own: he has now sent a person to ask me for it. Therefore, I pray you, that you will give it to him: and when you have any answer from the Most Illustrious Patriarch Gonzaga, you will do me a favour to bring it to me without delay, and I kiss your hands.

From your Worship's Servant,
Torq. Tasso.

St. Anna, the 1st of December, 1585.

For the very magnificent my
Sig^{r}. the respectful Sig^{r}.
Luca Scalabrino.

Illmo. Sig . e Padron mio Oss^mo.

Mandai a V. S. Illma. queste settimane passate cinquanta scudi d'oro: et moneta perch' io non li posso tener sicuri: e credo, chè l'Sig^r. Luca Scalabrino; al quale io gli diedi li manderà a buon ricapito: non dico altro, se non ch' in questa camera c' è un folletto ch' apre le Casse e toglie i danari: benche non in gran quantità ma non cosi piccola, che non possa discomodare un povero come son io. Se V. S. Illma. vuol' farmi questa gratia di serbarmeli, me ne dia aviso e frattanto ch' io provedo d' altro sia contenta, di pigliarli e le bacio le mani. Di S. Anna li 9 di Dic^re. del 1585.

Di V. S. R^ma.
Aff^mo. Ser^re. Torq^to. Tasso.

All' Illmo. e Rmo. Sig^re.
e Pron mio Colmo. Il
Sig. Patriarca Gonzaga.
Roma.

[1] In the original MSS. the *u* and *v* are indifferently used.

Most illustrious Signor, and my very respectable Lord,

I sent your most illustrious Lordship, these few weeks back, fifty crowns in gold, because I cannot keep them safely myself: and I presume that the Signor Luca Scalabrino, to whom I gave them, will see them conveyed safe to hand: I shall only say, that in this room of mine there is a demon that opens the boxes, and takes out the money: in no great quantity, indeed; but not so little as not to incommode a poor fellow such as I am. If your most illustrious Lordship will do me this favour to take care of them for me, let me have advice of it, and whilst I provide otherwise, perhaps you will have no objection to take them into your keeping. I kiss your hands.

Of your very Rev. Lordship,
The affectionate servant,
Torquato Tasso.

From St. Anna, the 9th of December, of the year 1585.

To the most Illustrious and most Rev. Lord, and my very respectable Patron, the Lord Patriarch Gonzaga.
Rome.

No. II.

RIENZI.

Tiraboschi[1] has given Rienzi a place amongst the restorers of literature; but he seems never to have seen some specimens of the tribune's composition existing in the royal library at Turin. Indeed the Abbe de Sade appears to be the only compiler, who has consulted these manuscripts, and he transcribes such only as relate to Petrarch. The continuer of Baronius cites letters of Rienzi amongst the secret epistles of the Vatican, but cannot be inferred to have seen a copy of the Turin papers.[2] By a strange fatality the acts of the Roman tribune have been preserved in the annals of a monastery at Liege[3]. The Canon Hocsemius has supplied us with three documents which are to be found also in the Turin manuscripts, and with two others which are not in that collection. Hocsemius was cited

[1] Storia della Lett. tom. v. lib. ii. p. 313. et seq. edit. Moden. 1775.

[2] Raynaldus contin. Baronii ad an. 1347. num. xiii. xiv. et seq. tom. vi. p. 442. et seq. edit. Lucæ, 1750.

[3] Gesta Pontificum. Leodiens. scripserunt auctores Leodii anno 1613. tom. ii. Joan. Hocsemii Canon Leod. cap. xxxv. *Admiranda de Nicolaò filio cujusdam molendarii Tribuno Romanæ urbis affecto*, p. 494. et seq.

and translated by Du Cerceau[1], and Du Cerceau was consulted by Gibbon, who does not appear to have referred to the original. Neither the one nor the other knew any thing of the existence of these letters, which, although they are not the original acts, and although the collection whence they were transferred to the library is unknown, are undoubtedly authentic. As they relate to a very singular personage, and afford a curious specimen of the style in which a revolutionary leader addressed the Romans of the fourteenth century, they are now for the first time published, together with the three papers of which the Canon of Liege has also furnished a copy. The original has been followed literally, and those words which are most doubtful have been printed in italics. A translation, in which the sense may not perhaps have been always divined with equal success, has been confronted with the Latin Papers. It will be seen from these letters that Rienzi, like Cromwell, adopted a spiritual tone in his official discourses; and by no means openly, or, at least, in the first instance, declared against the authority of the Pope. The Abbé de Sade has argued at length against the supposed citation of the Pope by Rienzi, when the tribune commanded the rival Emperors to appear before his tribunal, but the continuer of Baronius seems to have seen proofs of that

[1] Conjuration de Nicolas Gabrini dit de Rienzi Tyran de Rome en 1347, ouvrage posthume du R. Pere Du Cerceau de la compagnie de Jesus à Paris, 1733.

temerity in the Vatican, and has published the excommunication of Rienzi by Clement VI. The Liege annals contain a long letter from Rienzi to Raynaldo de' Ursi, Papal notary, excusing himself for the irregularities of his conduct on the day of his knighthood, and defending the bathing in Constantine's Vase, and the other arrogant or puerile ceremonies which had alienated the affection of his former admirers.

TRIBUNUS SENATUI POPULOQUE ROMANO.

Exultent in circuitu vestro montes, induantur colles gaudio, et universe planities, atque vestra Romana civitas, et valles pacem *germinent*, ubertate *fœcundentur*, et eterna lætitia repleantur. Resurgat Romana civitas diuturne prostracionis a lapsu, solium *solite* majestatis ascendens, vestitus *viduitatis* deponat et lugubres, sponsalem induat purpuram, liberum diadema caput exornet, colla manilibus muniat, resumat justitie sceptrum, ac totis circumfulta, et renovata virtutibus, tanquam sponsa ornata, se placituram sponso suo exhibeat. Excitentur sacerdotes ejus, et proceres, seniores ejus, et juvenes matrone, pupilli simul et virgines, omnisque Romanus exercitus in voce salutis attonitus, flexis in terram genibus, fixis in cœlum oculis, palmis erectis ad sidera, lætissimis animis devotissimis mentibus, gratias Deo referrant, et gloriam resonant in excelsis. Ecce namque cœli aperti sunt, et Dei gloria, Dei patris orta lux Christi;

The Tribune to the Senate and the Roman people.

Let the mountains around you exult! Let the hills, and the plains, and your city of Rome be covered with joy; and may the valleys shed peace, and be abundantly fruitful, and filled with everlasting gladness! May the Roman city, ascending the throne of her wonted majesty, rise for ever from the fall of her long prostration! Let her cast off the garment of widowhood and mourning, and put on the bridal purple! Let her head be adorned with the diadem of liberty, and her neck strengthened with collars! Let her resume the sceptre of justice, and, strong and regenerate in every virtue, like a fair-dressed bride, let her shew herself to her bridegroom! May her priests and elders, her young and old matrons, her orphans and virgins be raised, and, with the whole Roman army, roused by the voice of salvation, on bended knees, with eyes fixed on heaven, and hands lifted to the stars, give thanks and sing glory to God in the highest with minds most cheerful and most devout. For behold the heavens are opened, and the glory of God, the light of God the Father of Christ has arisen; which, shedding upon us the rays of the Holy Spirit amidst the dark shadows of death, has prepared for us the grace of unexpected and wonderful brightness. Behold, indeed, the most merciful Lamb of God, confounding our sins, the most holy man, the Roman Pontiff, the Father of our city, the bridegroom and Lord, roused by the clamours and

Spiritus Sancti lumen effundens nobis inter tenebrosas habitantibus umbras mortis preparavit gratiam *inopinate* et admirabilis claritatis. Ecce quidem clementissimus Agnus Dei, peccata confundens, sanctissimus vir Romanus Pontifex, Pater Urbis, Sponsus et Dominus sue sponse clamoribus, querelis, et luctibus excitatus, compaciensque suis cladibus, calamitatibus, et ruinis, ad renovacionem ipsius urbis, gloriam plebisque, attonitus, mundi leticiam, et salutem, inspiracione sancti Spiritus, sinum clementie sue graciosus aperiens, *misericordiam* nobis propinavit,et gratiam, ac universo mundo redempcionem promittit, et remissionem gentibus peccatorum. Etenim post honorabilem ambiaxate nostre supplicacionem non humano, verum divino consilio conformatam, [perhabita deliberacione matura Dominorum Cardinalium, omniumque Romane curie prelatorum, diversis ac variis linguis in divinam consonantibus voluntatem Spiritus, sancti oracionibus, ac missis per universas Christianorum Ecclesias celebratis,] die vigesima septima mensis hujusmodi in magna frequentia populi *preclari* Romani exercitus vocem gratie expectantis, solempnissime, immo angelico premisso sermone, in voce salutis, et leticie, decreto apostolico ad futurum quinquagesimum, et sic deinceps perpetuo, annum, promulgavit et edidit jubileum; nec non oblatum sibi urbis dominium grata voluntate suscipiens, visitacionem sedis apostolice post sedata *Gallorum* scandala, cum ineffabili novit affectu, sermone, vultu, manibus, toto decoro corpore

plaints and wailings of his bride, and compassionating her sufferings, disasters and destructions, amazed at the regeneration of his city and exultation of the people, and at the gladness and salvation of the world, being also inspired by the Holy Spirit, and graciously opening the bosom of his clemency, has acquired for us grace and mercy, and promised redemption to the world, and forgiveness to sinners. For, after the honorable supplication of our Embassy, ordained, not by human but divine counsel, (inasmuch as it was sent after a mature deliberation of the Lords Cardinals, and of all the prelates of the Roman Senate, many and various tongues according with the divine will of the Holy Spirit, in discourses and masses celebrated in every Christian Church) He (*the Pope*) did on the 27th day of this month, in a great assembly of the noble Roman people and army, then expecting the voice of grace, most solemnly, and in an oration truly angelical and full of salvation and gladness, proclaim and ordain a Jubilee by an Apostolic decree on the coming fiftieth year, and so on successively, assuming at the same time with gratitude the government of the city which was offered him, and accepting the visitation of the Apostolic Seat when the scandal of the French residence [1] shall have been put an end to: which offers he heard with an ineffable expression of speech, and countenance, and hands, and was in his decorous person, and indeed in all exterior appearances, animated beyond description.

[1] Avignon.

totis signis exterioribus, ultra quam dici poterit, *animosis*. Cum itaque, fratres karissimi, a domino factum sit istud mirabile *quoddam* in oculis intuencium non aliter nisi ut civitas vestra, Sponsa Romani Pontificis, expurgata vitiorum vepribus, *suasibus* renovata virtutibus in odorem unguentorum suorum *vernarum* suscipiat sponsum suum. Idcirco letis vos precamur in lacrimis ardentibus *extorquamur exortam affectibus*, quatenus, depositis ferreis armis, guerrarum flammis extinctis, mundificatis cordibus gratis desideriis, hæc grata, hæc divina munera, hæc dona cælestia capiatis, magnificantes in hymnis, psalmis jubilantes, et laudibus, nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi, necnon clementissimo successori ejus Domino nostro summo Pontifici humiles gratias referentes, in cujus labiis gratia divina diffusa renovati estis, et benedicti eciam in eternum, insignem purpura, et auro ejus sculptam imaginem in Romano amphitheatro, seu capitolio statuentes, ut ipsius clementissimi Patris, *patriæ*, auctoris, et liberatoris urbis eterne, vivat in posteros leta et gloriosa memoria nullorum diuturnitate temporum peritura. Quis enim Scipio, quis Cæsar, quis Metellus, Marcellus, Fabius liberatores patrie veteribus *rencensemus* annalibus, et inextinguabili dignos memoria judicamus, quorum solempnes effigies in preciosis lapidibus sculptas pro virtutis memoria et splendore miramur, tanta tanquam gloria decorare patriam potuissent? Illi quidem armati in bellorum austeritatibus mundi calamitatibus, morte et sanguine civium perituras

Since, therefore, my dearest brethren, that miracle has been done in the presence of all of you, insomuch that your city, the bride of the Roman Pontiff, cleansed from the thorns of her vices, and regenerate in virtue, receives her bridegroom into the odours of her own vernal perfumes, we beseech you with ardent tears of joy to cast off your iron armour, to extinguish the flames of war, and with hearts cleansed of all your cherished desires, to accept these precious divine gifts, magnifying and extolling in hymns and psalms the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and offering our humble thanks to his successor our Lord the supreme Pontiff, by whom ye are regenerate and blessed for ever, through the divine grace poured forth from his lips: and do ye place his image, adorned with purple and gold, in the Amphitheatre, that the memory of the most merciful Father of his country, the founder and liberator of the Eternal City, may live renowned and survive all time. For what Scipio, what Cæsar, what Metellus, Marcellus, Fabius,—names of ancient renown, and whom as liberators of their country we deem worthy of imperishable memory, and whose venerable and precious statues are admired as monuments of their virtue, and also for their splendour,—who of them have adorned their country with so much glory? —They, indeed, in arms, and amidst the hardships of war, and the miseries of mankind, and the blood and destruction of their fellow citizens, obtained victories: but he, unsolicited, has prepared for our eyes and those of posterity triumphs immortal and eternal by giving life to all, and happiness

paruere victorias. Hic non rogatus cum omnium vita, leticia civium, et salute, immortales, ac eternos subjecit oculis posteritatis et nostris solo verbo triumphos. *Nonne hic* est qui spiritualibus telis armatus exurgens, adversus presentes, futurasque calamitates patrie, providum bellum gerens, omnem miseriam inopum, gentium pauperum, Romane reipublice debilitate, ac paratam desperate plebis mortem, uno sanctissimo ac triumphali verbo delevit? Venerandam itaque et colendam hujus Patris memoriam Romanum genus ceterorum memoriis antecellat, presentes predicent, et levata nacio future posteritatis expectet, honorificantes denique urbem ac vestram sanctissimam tantis muneribus dignam, tantis honoribus celitus validatam, per quam, fratres carissimi, nisi solutis viciorum calciamentis, et innocentibus, ac mundatis pedibus ambulare gentibus non liceret, quoniam locus in quo statis, et vivitis, terra verissime sancta est.

Annunciando denique vobis id gaudium, quod si Dominus noster summus Pontifex per hanc celestem gratiam vos virtutes, et vicia expurgare, optata sibi fama dictante, perceperit, apertis tociens clemencie suæ alis ad visitacionem *dilecte* urbis sue, cum comitiva apostolorum, *cicius*, quam gentes crederent, transvolabit.

Nicolaus Laurencii, Romanus Consul, orphanorum, viduarum, et pauperium unicus popularis legatus ad Dominum nostrum Romanum Pontificem animo, manuque propriis.

[1] This letter is marked, fol. 182. v. 183. of the Codex Taurinensis, and has never before been published.

and safety to the state, by his word alone! Is it not he, who, armed with spiritual weapons, warring against the present and future calamities of his country, has relieved the misery of nations, made wretched and poor by the weakness of the Roman commonwealth, and has driven away from the despairing people the death which was ready for them, and has done all this by one most holy and triumphant word?

Let the Roman race, therefore, prefer the venerable memory of this their Father to the memory of all others; let the present people foretel, and let our rising posterity hope for another such! Finally let us honour your most holy city worthy of such great gifts, and strengthened with so great glory from above, and through which, my dearest brethren, it is not permitted for the nations to walk except the sandals of their vices be loosened, and their feet be clean and innocent, for verily the soil on which you stand and live is holy!

Lastly, I announce these glad tidings to you, that if our master the high Pontiff should receive a previous report of your purification by means of the divine grace, he will open the wings of his repeated clemency, and fly to visit his beloved city with the company of his Apostles quicker than the nations do expect.

Nicolas the son of Laurentius, the Roman Consul, the only Legate of the people, for the Orphans, the Widows, and the Poor, to our master the supreme Pontiff, of his own will, and with his own hand.

Copia literarum, que fuerunt misse ad Curiam de iis, que fuerunt gesta in parlamento facto per Tribunum Rome coram Ambaxiatoribus Italie, seu Imperio, et ejus jurisdicionibus.

In honorem et gloriam summi Dei *Patris*, et *spiritus Sancti* filii; beatorum Apostolorum Petri, et Pauli; et Sancti Joanni Baptiste, in cujus sacratissimo templo in Roma, videlicet sacratissimi principis gloriam militarem accepimus, prius fulgente titulo Spiritus Sancti, cujus indignus servus miles existimus: nec non ad honorem et reverentiam sancte Romane Matris Ecclesie, et Domini nostri summi Pontificis statum prosperum et augmentum sancte Romane urbis, sacre Italie, et tocius fidei Christiane. Nos candidatus spiritus sancti miles Nicolaus, Severus et Clemens, Liberator urbis, Zelator Italie, Amator Orbis et Tribunus Augustus, volentes, et desiderantes donum spiritus sancti, et libertates antiquorum Romanorum Principum, quantum nobis permittitur, imitari, notum facimus universis, quod pridem a nobis post assumptum Tribunatus officium Romanus Populus de consilio omnium et singulorum judicum, sapientum, et advocatorum urbis, recognovit, adhuc se habere illam auctoritatem, potestatem, atque jurisdictionem in toto orbe terrarum, quas habuit a principio et summo augmento urbis prefate, et omnia privilegia facta

Copy of the Letters which were sent to the court of Rome concerning the Matters, which were settled in the Parliament, summoned by the Roman Tribune, before the Ambassadors of Italy, or of the Empire and its Jurisdictions.

To the honour and glory of God, the Father, the Most High, and of the Holy Spirit, and of the Son; of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of the holy John the Baptist, (in whose most sacred temple of Rome, we received indeed the military glory of a most holy prince, under the splendid title of the Holy Spirit[1], whose unworthy servant and soldier we are), and to the honour and reverence of our holy mother the Roman Church, the prosperity of our lord the supreme Pontiff, and to the increase of the holy Roman city, of our sacred Italy, and of the whole Christian Faith.

We, a Knight candidate of the Holy Spirit, Nicholas, the Severe and Merciful, the Liberater of the city, the Defender of Italy, Lover of the world, Tribune August, wishing and desiring the gift of the Holy Spirit, and to imitate as far as may be permitted us the powers of the ancient chiefs of Rome, MAKE KNOWN TO ALL, that, whereas, since our assumption of the tribuneship, the Roman people, by the advice of all and singular their judges, sages, and advocates, have recognized, that they still retain the same

[1] Alluding to his Knighthood in the Lateran.

in prejudicium auctoritatis, potestatis, et jurisdictionis, antiquam, et arbitrariam potestatem nobis concessam a Romano Populo in publico Parlamento, et nuper a Domino nostro summo Pontifice, ut patet per Apostolicas Bullas ejus, ne videamur de dono, et gratia spriritus sancti ingrati vel quomodolibet avari, tam Romano Populo, quam Populis sacre Italie supradictis, et ne per negligentiam jura, et jurisdictionem Romani Populi permittamus amplius deperire, auctoritate, et gratia Dei, et spiritus sancti, ac sacri Romani Populi, et omni modo, et jure et forma, quibus melius possumus, et debemus, decernimus, declaramus, et pronunciamus ipsam sanctam Romanam Urbem Caput orbis, et fondamentum totius fidei christiane, ac omnes et singulas civitates Italie liberas esse, et easdem ad cautelam integre libertati donamus, et omnes, et singulos Populos tocius sacre Italie liberos esse censemus, et ex nunc omnes prefatos Populos, ac cives civitatum Italie facimus, declaramus, et pronunciamus cives esse Romanos, ac Romana libertate eos volumus gaudere. Item eadem auctoritate, et gratia spiritus sancti ac Romani Populi supradicti dicimus, profitemur, ac eciam declaramus, Romanum Imperium, electionem, jurisdictionem, et monarchiam tocius sacri imperii ad ipsam almam urbem, et ejus Populum, nec non ad universam Italiam pertinere, et ad easdem esse legitime devolutas multis rationalibus causis, quas suo loco, et tempore declarari faciemus, dantes, et prefi-

authority, power and jurisdiction over the whole world, which they held from the beginning and in the height of their city; and still have all privileges granted to others in prejudice of their authority, power and jurisdiction; and that the ancient and supreme powers have been granted to us by them in the public parliament, and lately by our lord the high Pontiff, as appears from the apostolic bulls, and whereas we would not seem in the eyes of the Roman people, or of the people of our holy Italy, in any way unmindful or covetous of this gift and grace of the Holy Spirit, or to permit the people's rights and jurisdiction any more to be invaded. * * *

We do, by the authority and grace of God, the Holy Spirit, and the sacred Roman people, and by every means legally and formally within our power and duty, decree, declare, and pronounce this holy city of Rome the capital of the world, and the base of the whole Christian faith, and all and every state of Italy to be free, and we guarantee their perfect liberty, and we pronounce all the people of our sacred Italy freemen; and from this time we do make, declare and pronounce all the above people and citizens of the Italian states to be Roman citizens, and we would have them to enjoy Roman liberty. Moreover, by the same authority and grace of the Holy Spirit, and of the said Roman people, we do acknowledge and declare, that the Roman empire, its elections, jurisdictions, and the monarchy of our holy

gentes in his scriptis omnibus et singulis prelatis, Imperatoribus electis, Lectoribus, Regibus, Ducibus, Principibus, Marchionibus, Populis, Universitatibus, et quibuscumque aliis in specie, et eciam cujuscumque preeminencie status, et condicionis existant, et contradicere volentibus, seu in electione prefata, ac ipso Imperio jurisdictionem, potestatem, et auctoritatem pretendentibus, quoquomodo terminum hinc ad festum Pasche, Pentecostes proxime futurum, quod infra dictum terminum in ipsa alma urbe et sacrosancta Lateranensi Ecclesia, coram nobis, et aliis officialibus Domini nostri Pape, et Romani Populi debeant cum eorum juribus comparere, alioquin a dicto termino in antea procedemus secundum quod de jure fuerit, et spiritus sancti gratia monstrabit: Et nihilominus ad predicta omnia in specie, et in communi citari fecimus Illustres Principes, qui se asserunt Romanos Imperatores, vel ad Imperium jam electos Dominum Ludovicum Ducem Bavarie, Dominum Karolum Regem Boemie, Dominum Ducem Bavarie[1], Dominum Ducem Saxonie, Dominum Marchionem Brandiburgensem, Dominum Archiepiscopum Trevesensem, Dominum Archiepiscopum Coloniensem; qui in dictis terminis, et loco, et infra terminum predictum coram nobis, et aliis officialibus Romani Populi debeant personaliter comparere, alioquin, ut predicitur procedemus, eorum absencia, et contumacia non obstante. In predictis autem omnibus, et sin-

[1] The MSS. have two Dukes of Bavaria.

empire, belong to the cherished city itself, its people, and to the whole of Italy, and have devolved to the same by many reasonable causes which will be made known in proper time and place, by us giving and prefixing them to these our writings to all and each of the Prelates, Generals elect, Electors, Kings, Leaders, Princes, Noblemen, People, Universities, and to all persons of whatsoever state, pre-eminence, and condition they may be, and to those pretending to any jurisdiction, power, and authority in the aforesaid election and in the empire itself, from this time to the approaching festivals of the Passover and Pentecost;—within which period they are expected to appear with their pretensions before us, and the other officers of our lord the Pope, and before the Roman people in this cherished city itself, and in the holy Lateran Church, otherwise we shall proceed against them from the said period according to law, and to the suggestions of the grace of the Holy Spirit.

Moreover, we have caused to be summoned severally and collectively for all the aforesaid purposes, the illustrious princes who call themselves Roman Emperors, or who are now chosen to the empire, Lewis, Duke of Bavaria, Charles, King of Bohemia, the Duke of Bavaria, Duke of Saxony, the Marquis of Brandenburgh, the Archbishops of Treves and Cologn, whom we expect will appear in person before us and the other officers of the Roman people, in the said limits and places, and within the aforesaid

gulis nostris actibus, processibus, et executionibus, quibuscumque, auctoritati, jurisdictioni sancte Matris Ecclesie Domini nostri Pape, ac sacri collegii in nullo volumus derogari. Quinimo volumus ad augmentum, et honorem semper actus nostros dirigere, ut tenemur, per omnia revereri. In dictione quinta, die prima mensis Augusti publicata fuerunt predicta, coram Romano Populo, acceptata, et approbata per ipsum Populum existentem in Platea Lateranensi, presente Domino Vicario Domini nostri Pape, Domino Paulo De Comite, Domino Joffredo Sooceo, fratre Jacobo Preceptore sancti Spiritus, fratre Hugolino ordinis predicatorum, Domino Francisco de Velletris Judice, Domino Mattheo de Reate Judice, Paulo Angeli de Fuscis, Domino Nicolao Nicole, Domino Ubaldino Pictoris de Eugubio, Domino Vugacione Petri de Eugubio, et Serguiccio Ramacone de Eugubio[1].

[1] This is marked, fol. 174, of the Index, and has been published in Hocsemius. It is here, however, copied from the Turin MSS. as it contains the famous and foolish citation of the rival Emperors.

period: otherwise we shall proceed against them as above-mentioned, notwithstanding their absence and contumacy. But in all and each of our aforesaid acts, processes, and administrations, we would on no account derogate from the authority and jurisdiction of our holy mother church, our lord the Pope, and the sacred college; on the contrary, we would direct all our acts to their increase and honour, and, as we are bound, reverence them in all things.

The aforesaid were published in the 5th Indiction, on the first day of August, accepted before the Roman people, and with their approbation, in the street of the Lateran; present the vicar of our Lord, the Pope, Paulus de Comus, Jofredus Sooceus, his brother, James the preceptor of the fraternity of the Holy Spirit, and his brother Ugolino, of the order of Preachers, Francis judge of Velletri, Matthew judge of Reate, Paulus Angelus of Fusci, Nicolaus Nicolaus, Ubaldinus Pictor of Eugubium, Eugacio the son of Peter, of Eugubium, and Serguiccius Ramaco, of Eugubium.

Copia literarum, quas misit Tribunus Populo et Universitati Viterbii de obedientia, ac subsidio requisitis per eum pro republica gubernanda.

Auctore clementissimo Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Nicolaus, Severus et Clemens, Libertatis, pacis, justicieque Tribunus, et sacre Romane rei publice Liberator, nobilibus et prudentibus viris, Potestati, Capitaneo, Bonis Hominibus, Sindico, Consilio, et Communi Civitatis Viterbii in Tuscia constitutis, sacri Romani Populi filiis, et devotis, salutem, et cum reconciliacione Dei pacem et justiciam venerari.

Denunciamus vobis id gaudium Domini sancti Spiritus, quod pius Pater, et Dominus noster Jesus Christus in hac veneranda die festivitatis Pasche Pentecoste per inspiracionem sanctam hujus sancte urbis, et populo ejus, ac et vobis et omnibus fidelibus populis viris, qui nostra membra consistunt, dignatus est miseracorditer elargiri. Sane cum status ipsius alme urbis, et populi, ac tocius Romane Provincie pravorum, et crudelium rectorum et destructorum ipsius esset ex omni parte quassatus, in perdicionem, et miserabilem destrucionem jam *deducitur*, adeoque intime in eadem *alma* urbe *omnis erat* mortificata justicia, pax expulsa, prostrata libertas, ablata securitas, dampnata caritas, *misericordia* et devocio prophanate, quod nondum extranei et peregrini veri Christi cives Romani

Copy of the Letters which the Tribune sent to the People and University of Viterbo, concerning the Obedience and Assistance required from them in the Government of the Republic.

Under the authority of our most merciful Lord Jesus Christ, Nicolas, the Severe and Merciful, of liberty, peace, and justice, the Tribune, and the Liberator of the sacred Roman republic, to the Noble and Prudent Men, to the Podestà, to the Captain, to the Good Men, to the Sindic, to the Council, and to the constituted authorities of the Tuscan city of Viterbo, the devoted children of the Roman people, health, and through the reconciliation of God, the love of peace and justice.

We announce to you the joy of the Lord the Holy Spirit, which, on the venerable day of the festival of the passover, our pious father and Lord, Jesus Christ, has vouchsafed in his mercy to bestow upon his people, and upon you, and all the faithful who compose our members, through the holy inspirations of this sacred city. Verily, when the state of the cherished city itself, of the people, and the whole Roman province, was convulsed on every side, and reduced to perdition and wretched ruin, by its depraved, and cruel, and destroying rulers,—and justice was so inwardly death-stricken in the same city, tranquillity so expelled, liberty so prostrate, security so taken away, charity so injured,

carissimi provinciales ad comitatum nostri nullatenus ibidem venire poterant, vel inibi remanere securi, quinmino oppressiones undique, sediciones, hostilitates, et guerre, distruciones animalium, incendia intus et extra, mariique, continue effrenatissime penetrabantur, cum magnis ipsius sancte urbis, et totius Romane provincie periculis, jacturis et dampnis animarum, bonorum et corporum, et detrimento non modico totius fidei christiane heu! jam diminute, et quasi totaliter derelicte erant peregrinaciones, et visitaciones indulgenciarum et itinerum Sanctissimorum Apostolorum Petri, et Pauli civium, principumque nostrorum, et aliorum sanctorum Apostolorum quorum octo in eadem urbe corpora requiescunt, et sanctorum infinitorum Martyrum, atque virginum, in quorum sanguine ipsa sancta civitas est fundata; nec mirandum erat, quin ipsa sancta civitas, que ad consolacionem animarum constructa fuit, et que fidelium omnium debet esse refugium, facta erat offensionis silva, et spelunca latronum pocius quam civitas apparebat; vos etiam, et alii devoti populi nostri nullum ab ipsa urbe poteratis percipere consilium, auxilium, vel favorem, qui primo sub *specie* senatus, sub nomine capitaneatus, sub colore milicie eratis oppressi, et injuste sepius lacerati. Igitur prefatus Pater et Dominus noster Jesus Christus ad preces, ut credimus, Beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum, civium principum et custodum nostrorum, misericorditer excitatus, ad conso-

and piety and devotion so profaned, that the foreign pilgrims, the true citizens of Christendom, and our very dear Roman provincials, could not reach our convocations, or remain in them securely. But owing to the oppressions on every side, the seditions, hostilities, and wars, the ravage of living beings, the conflagrations which, within and without, upon the land, and on the waters were continually raging, with great danger to the sacred city itself, and of the whole Roman province, with the loss and destruction of soul, and body, and property, and with no small detriment to the whole Christian faith, now, alas, decayed! the pilgrimages and the visitation for indulgences, and to the shrines of the most holy apostles, Peter and Paul, our citizens and chiefs, and of other holy apostles, eight of whose bodies rest in this city, and of innumerable holy martyrs and virgins, in whose blood the very city itself is founded, became as it were totally abandoned: nor was it to be wondered at that the holy city itself, which was made for the comfort of our souls, and should be the refuge of all the faithful, became a forest of crimes, and resembled a den of thieves more than a city: ye also and others of our devoted people were not able to obtain counsel, or assistance, or favour from the city, but were oppressed, and oftentimes unjustly injured first by what was called a Senate, then under the name of a Capitanate, and with the pretext of military service.

Wherefore our aforesaid Father and Lord

lacionem non solum Romanorum civium, verum tocius nostre provincie *comitatum*, peregrinorum, et aliorum omnium fidelium Christianorum, ipsum Romanum populum inspiracione spiritus sancti ad veritatem, et concordiam revocavit, ad desiderium libertatis, justicie, inflammavit, et ad salutem, et defensionem suam, et nostram mirabiliter illustravit, et ad observacionem perpetuam bone voluntatis, sancte, et juste deliberacionis eorum: idem populus, nobis, licet *indigno*, plenam, et liberam potestatem, et auctoritatem reformandi, et conservandi statum pacificum dicte urbis, et tocius Romane provincie, ac liberum professus arbitrium commisit, et concessit in suo publico, et solempnissimo Parlamento, ac plena concordia tocius populi prelibati. Nos autem, licet ad supportacionem tanti oneris humeros nostros insufficientes, et debiles cognoscamus; tamen, apertissime cognoscentes, quod a Domino factum est istud, et est mirabilius in oculis nostris, et de gratia Dei, et beatorum Petri, et Pauli, ejus gratia, et favore confisi, ac de Romani populi nostris, et tocius Romane provincie sequelis, et suffragiis spem habentes, auctoritatem, et potestatem predictas devoto corde, et animo virili suscepimus, et ad reformacionem, et renovacionem justicie, libertatis, et securitatis, statusque pacifici prefate Romane urbis, ac totius provincie, oculos nostre mentis direximus, et prosequi *intendimus* viriliter, et potenter, secundum ordinem antique justicie, per virtutem

Jesus Christ, moved with compassion, as we believe, by the prayers of the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, our chief citizens and guardians, hath (for the comforting not only of our Roman citizens, but of all the provinces and counties and of all pilgrims and other faithful Christians) recalled this very Roman people to truth and concord by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and hath inflamed them with a desire of liberty and justice, and enlightened them for their security, for their own and our defence, and for the perpetual observance of good will, of holy, and upright judgment. And this same people hath, of their own free will, and unanimous accord in their public and most solemn parliament, granted and entrusted to us, though unworthy, full and free power and authority to reform and preserve the tranquil state of the said city, and of the whole Roman province—and, notwithstanding we feel our shoulders insufficient, and too weak for so great a load, yet, seeing most clearly that it is the work of the Lord, and is a miracle in our eyes, and trusting, through the grace of God, and the blessed Peter and Paul, to his grace and favour, and relying on the followers and suffrages of the Roman people, and of the whole Roman province, we have with a devout heart and manly resolution taken upon ourselves the aforesaid authority and power, and have directed the eyes of our mind to the reform and regeneration of justice, liberty, security, and tranquillity of the aforesaid Roman city, and whole pro-

juste, fortisque milicie moderacione: Quapropter nobilitatem, prudenciam et devocionem vestram presentibus exhortamur, gratias reddatis altissimo salvatori, ac sanctissimis apostolis suis, quoniam in tempus afflictionis, et desperacionis propinaverunt Romano populo, ac nobis consolacionis remedium, ac salutis; suscipientes et participantes nobiscum hoc donum Dei cum magna leticia, gestis et gaudiis manifestis; necnon ad domandum protinus, et *proterendum* superbiam, et tirampnidem quoumcunque rebellium; credentes hunc statum vobis a Christo concessum impedire quomodolibet, vel turbare statum, propulsata campana communis, et preconibus destinatis sollicitatis populum, et commune ad *preparandum* se armis, equis, et ceteris opportunis ad exercitum, et destrucionem eorum, et exterminium manifestum, et sub protecione Dei, et vexillo sancte justicie cum manibus nostris, superbie et tirampnides confundentur, et libertas, pax, et justitia per totam Romanam provinciam reformetur. Nihilominus vobis tenore presentium, sub fide, legalitate, et pena arbitraria precipimus, et mandamus, quatenus infra tres dies post âsignacionem presentium, mictatis ad nos duos syndicos, et ambaxiatores ydoneos vestra terre ad consilium, et Parlamentum, que intendimus in eis diebus in Romanorum commodo ad salutem, et pacem tocitus nostre provincie celebrare: volumusque, et in signum caritatis et amoris presentibus postulamus, quatenus unum sapientum juris

vince, and we will resolutely and strenuously follow up the order of ancient justice, by virtue of a constitutional and moderately strong army.

We therefore recommend it to your dignity, and prudence, and devotion, to return thanks to the most high Saviour, and to his holy apostles, because that in the season of affliction and despair they have greeted the Roman people and us with comfort and salvation, partaking and participating with us in this gift of God with exceeding gladness and manifest signs of joy. We exhort you also to subdue and quell the pride, tyranny, and rebellion of those who think to harass and confound this state, granted us by Christ, in whatsoever manner it may be: do you by sounding the alarm bell, or by the public criers destined for that purpose, summon the people and Commune to equip themselves with arms, horses, and other warlike materials for the destruction of any such, and for their manifest extermination: so that under the protection of God, and the standard of holy justice in our hands, may their pride and usurpation be confounded, and liberty, peace, and justice, be reformed through the whole Roman province. We no less command and order, by the tenor of these presents under your faith, loyalty, and for fear of such penalties as may seem fitting, that you send two proper Sindics and Ambassadors of your district to our council and parliament, which we mean to hold in these days,

peritum, quem vos duxeritis eligendum, ad nos particulariter destinetis, quem ex nunc in *numero* judicum consistorii nostri cum salario, gagiis, et muneribus conjunctis pro sex mensibus deputamus. Datum in Capitolio, vigesimo quarto mensis Maii decima quinta indicione[1].

[1] This is marked fol. 166 in the Turin MSS. and has never been printed before. It has not been thought worth while to make any attempt at emendations: the style and historical notices, not the language, being the principal object of publishing these letters. The absence of the diphthong is observable throughout the whole of the manuscript.

for the welfare of the Romans, and the safety and tranquillity of our whole province: and we will, and by these presents do require, as a token of our affection and love, that you specifically appoint for us at least one wise man learned in the law, whom you shall deem eligible, and whom we, from this date, depute among the number of judges of our constitution, with the salaries, profits, and emoluments appertaining.

Given in the Capitol, the 24th day of May, 15th indiction.

Responsio Domini Tribuni transmissa amico suo in Romana Curia commoranti, eo quod primo sibi scripserat, quod dicebatur per Curiam quod terrore preteriti volebat dimittere officium Tribunatus.

Amice Karissime. Inter causas alias, quibus multiplicitur vobis afficimur, continue obligamur, et tenemur vobis de frequentia literarum, quas nobis ita sollicite direxistis, et si ad *ea* non hucusque rescripsimus, non processit ex *alia* quam ex diversitate ardua, et arduitate diversa negociorum, quibus persona nostra continue occupatur. Scire tamen vos cupimus, et tenere certissimum, quod urbs sic reducta est ad statum, Spiritu Sancto faciente, pacificum, liberum, et felicem, quod non videntibus impossibile foret credi: nemo enim credere posset Romanum populum plenum dissidiis, hactenus sordidum omni genere viciorum, reductum ad tante unitatis effectum, ad tantumque amorem justicie, et *honeste* virtutis, et pacis in tanta temporis brevitate * * * * domitis cessantibus odiis, percussionibus, homicidiis, et *rapinis*. Nec est in urbe qui ludo uti audeat taxillari; qui Deum, vel sanctos audeat *lacessire blasphemia;* nec laicus quispiam, qui teneat concubinam, inimicantes omnes gaudent; etiam leta pace uxores, diucius a viris abjecte, ad

Reply of the Lord Tribune sent to his friend in the Roman court[1] to that which he had written, mentioning the report that prevailed in the court that, alarmed at what had happened, he was desirous of resigning the Tribuneship.

Dearest Friend.

Amongst the other causes on account of which we are in innumerable ways affected towards you, we are continually obliged and beholden to you for the frequency of the letters which you have written to us; and if we have not hitherto replied to them, it has only proceeded from the difficult variety and various difficulty of the concerns with which our person is continually occupied.

We are desirous, however, that you should know and be assured that, by the influence of the Holy Spirit, the city has been brought back to a state so tranquil, free, and happy, as to be incredible to those who do not witness it; for it is not to be believed that the Roman people, till now full of dissension, and corrupted by every description of vice, should be so soon reduced to a state of such unanimity, and to so great a love of justice, honourable virtue, and peace, and that hatred, assaults, murder, and rapine should be subdued and put an end to. Nor

[1] At Avignon.

viros reducte sunt. Magnates, quibus inequa rerum communitas causam dissensionis prestabát, ad divisionem, et porcionem equalem; nec non et discordes omnes ad concordiam tempore isto nostri regiminis per Dei gratiam mirabiliter sunt reducti; et totus Romanus populus ad devocionem accensi plusquam nunquam. fuerunt a nativitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi gloriosissimi. Quilibet suo gaudet, quilibet de suo vivere est contentus. Securi ad urbem veniunt qui solebant in urbis januis spoliari peregrini cujuslibet nationis. Pax viget, et floret securitas. Non sunt modo Castra Potentum, ut hactenus, spelunce latronum; nec retinent eos silve. Et novit Deus, cui omnia patent, quod non ambicio dignitatis, officii, fame, honoris, vel aure mundialis, quam semper abhorrui, sicut, cenum, sed desiderium communis boni tocius reipublice hujusque sanctissimi status induxit nos colla submittere jugo adeo ponderoso * * * * nostris humeris non ab homine, sed a Deo, qui novit si officium istud fuit per nos precibus procuratum; si officia, beneficia, et honores consanguineis nostris contulimus; si nobis pecuniam cumulamus; si a veritate recedimus; si homines tenemus in verbis, si nobis, vel heredibus nostris facimus composiciones; si in ciborum dulcedine, aut voluptate aliqua delectamur; et si quidquam gerimus simulatum. Testis est nobis Deus de iis, que fecimus et facimus pauperibus, viduis, orphanis et pupillis. Multo vivebat quietius Cola Lau-

is there any person in the city who dares to play at forbidden games, nor to provoke God or his saints with blasphemy; there is no layman who keeps his concubine; all enemies are reconciled; and even wives, who had been long cast off, return to their husbands. The nobles, who had grounds of dissension in the unjust community of property, have consented to an equal division and proportion; all the discontented, through the grace of God, are wonderfully brought to contentment in this period of our government, and the whole Roman people has been animated to a devotion, such as has never been witnessed since the nativity of our most glorious Lord Jesus Christ. Every man enjoys his own: every man is content to live on his own. Pilgrims of every nation, who used to be plundered at the gates of the city, now come to us in safety. Peace blossoms forth, and security flourishes. The castles of the nobles are not as hitherto dens of thieves; nor do our woods abound with robbers. And God, by whom all things are seen, knows that no ambition for dignity, office, fame, honour, or worldly favour, which I have always abhorred like dirt, but anxiety for the general good of the Republic, and of this holy state, induced us to submit our neck to so ponderous a yoke, placed upon our shoulders not by man but by God, who can testify whether this office was put upon us at our own intreaties; whether we have conferred places, benefits, or honours upon our relations;

rentius quam Tribunus. Sed pro huius loci beatus amore labores reputamus nobis singulos ad quietem, immo in testimonio Spiritus Sancti, et Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, quorum causam prosequimur, et tuemur. Hora diei quietem sumere possumus; sed noctem addimus operi, et labori.

whether we have heaped up money for ourselves; whether departed from truth; whether we have held men together by words only; whether we compound for ourselves or our heirs; whether we are fond of luxury in our food, or of any voluptuousness; and whether we have done any thing with hypocrisy. God is our witness of what we have done, and are doing, for the poor—for the widows, and for the orphans, and all the young. Cola the son of Laurence lived much more tranquilly than Cola the Tribune: but for the love which we bear to this place, we consider all our labours are for its tranquillity, and for this we appeal to the witness of the Holy Spirit, and the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, whose cause we follow and defend. At the hour of day we can take rest, but the night we give to labour and study.

Primum Membrum presentis Litere.

Ad id autem, quod scribitis audivisse, quod inceptum jam *terreri*, scire vos facimus, quod sic Spiritus Sanctus, per quem dirigimur, et *movemur*, facit animum nostrum fortem, quod ulla discrimina non timemus; immo si totus mundus, et homines sancte fidei christiane, et perfidiarum hebraice, et pagane contrariarentur nobis, non propterea terremur. Nobis enim propositum est cum reverencia Dei, et Sancte Matris Ecclesie, et pro amore, et cultu justicie velle mori. Talis autem timoris opinio, qui nunquam cecidit nec cadere poterit in cor nostrum, potuit fortasse procedere ex eo, quod, dum pridem, in concilio peterimus, quod istud officium in diversas personas singulis tribus mensibus mutaretur, illi, qui in concilio erant laceratis pre tristitia vestibus, omnes conclamantes lacrimabiliter responderunt, dicentes aut quod iste status sanctissimus decidat, et regimen istud ad aliud deveniret, singuli moriamur, ita quod illud, quod faciebamus causa virtutis, adscripsit nobis aliena ignorancia ad timorem.' Nec id ob aliud petebamus, nisi ne causa nostri ad perpetuitatem officii aspirare aliquatenus crederemur.

First Part of this Letter.

With regard to what you mention as having heard, that we had begun to be frightened, we give you to know that the Holy Spirit which governs and cherishes us, so fortifies our mind that we fear no perils; nay, if the whole world, both people of the holy Christian faith, and perfidious Jews and Pagans should oppose, we would not therefore be dismayed; for it is our intention and desire with all due reverence to God, and our Holy Mother Church, to die for the love and maintainance of justice.

But is it probable that such mention of terror, which never did, and never can, reach our heart, arose from this circumstance, that when we proposed in council that this office should be changed and given to different persons every three months, those who were present, tearing their garments in sadness, and weeping, began to exclaim, that "the Good Estate itself would "perish, that the government would undergo a "change, and all would be slain"—so that what we did out of our love of virtue, the ignorance of others hath ascribed to fear. And we only desired this measure, that we might not be thought in any way, on our own account, to aspire to hold this office in perpetuity.

Secundum Membrum.

Vos etiam cupimus non latere, quod Joannes de Vico, olim prefectus *fricida (fatricida)* et proditor vocatus, et expectatus diutius, venire noluit ad mandata; propter quod contra eum direximus nostrum victoriosum exercitum, qui jam occupavit Vetrallam, et Viterbium tenet obsessum, quod continue devastatur. Omnes quoque Tuscie Civitates miserunt jam in servitio nostro, et Romani Populi in dictum nostrum exercitum auxilia gentis sue. Omnes hoc statu letantur, omnes Romano populo favent contra proditorem prefatum. Soli rectores Patrimonii, et Campanie assistunt, et subfavent proditori qui aliter fuerant sui hostes; de quo etsi dolemus, sine causa nos tractari indebite ab eisdem, altiori tamen in mente peragimus, quod proinde turbabuntur omnia corda Romanorum. Videtur enim eis in culpas ipsorum Rectorum non solum ab eis, sed a Domino nostro Summo Pontifice recipere lesionem; dicunt quidam: nos Domini nostri summi Pontificis in auxiliis *sperabamus,* et officiales suos ita nobis contrarios experimur, quod non sit sine aliquali infamia Domini prelibati; fratisque germani dicti Comitis Campanie cum quatuor banneriis equitum, et cum gente Regis Ungarie invadentis Regnum Sicilie in Aquila contra Reginam Joannam, et Dominum nostrum summum Ponti-

Second Member.

We are also desirous, that it should not be concealed from you, that John de Vico (formerly prefect) fratricide, and traitor, though called and expected a long time, would not come to our summons: we have, therefore, sent against him our victorious army, which hath occupied Vetralla, and keeps Viterbo, which is incessantly laid waste, in siege. All the Tuscan states also in our service, and the Roman people, have sent auxiliaries from their own people to our said army. All rejoice in this proceeding, all assist the Roman people against the aforesaid traitor. But the governors of the Patrimony[1] and of Campania, who were formerly his enemies, connive with the traitor, which, although it sorely grieves us that we should be treated so unworthily, yet are we more deeply affected, because the hearts of all our Romans will be troubled thereat: for it is their belief, that owing to the offence of these governors, they are not only injured by those lords themselves, but also by their lord the Pope himself; for, say they, we trusted in the assistance of our lord the Pope, and now we see his officers are against us, and against us to the discredit, in some degree, of the same lord the Pope, and of the brother of the Count of Campania, invading with four *banners* of horse, and with the people of

[1] A part of the Roman states called the Patrimony of St. Peter.

ficem; Nec obmittemus, quod tanta est circa hunc statum vicinarum bona dispositio civitatum, quod viginti sex denarios antique parve monete, valentes nunc Carlenum unum, et denarios quatuor parvos, petitos ab eis pro quolibet focolari, libenter exsolvunt, videntes nos ipsam pecuniam, et aliam pro defensione personarum, et rerum suarum in stipendia *militie* convertisse, quamvis Rectores ipsi hoc visi fuerint impedire; et illi, a quibus pecuniam ipsam non petimus, dolent quodammodo, et spontanee solvunt illam, ne a defensione nostra videantur exclusi. Igitur nulla nos cura sollicitat, si, Deo exeunte nobiscum, nobis homines *adversari* contingat; et spem nostram in Deo posuimus; de auxiliis hominum non curamus. Legisse namque recolimus, et vidisse virum in suâ, et hominis potentia confidentem sucumbere, et quod humana auxilia in ejus, ad cujus sunt parata favorem, sepe in confusionem sint solita torqueri. Quidquid igitur nobis objicitur, quasi mane * * * * reputamus, existentes certi, quod quanto plus hic status sanctissimus impugnatur in terris ab homine, in celis roboratur plus a Deo, qui quod ipse dignatus est misericorditer stabilire, non patitur per homines infirmari.

the king of Hungary, the kingdom of Sicily, *in Aquila*, in prejudice of Queen Joanna and of our sovereign lord the Pope. Nor will we omit, that such is the good disposition of the cities near this state, that they willingly pay twenty-six pence of the ancient small money, (now worth a carline) and four small pence which are demanded of them for each hearth: for they see that we convert this and other money into stipends for soldiers for the defence of their persons and property, and notwithstanding the governors themselves would hinder this tribute, those from whom we have not demanded contribution, are in some measure disappointed, and offer it of their own accord, that they may not appear excluded from our protection.

We are therefore under no apprehensions, if men should become our adversaries, whilst God goes out with us: and we have placed our reliance on God, not caring for the help of man. For we recollect to have read of, and have seen such as trusted to human powers, succumb, and human aid is wont to be turned to the confusion of him for whose help it was prepared.

Let us therefore consider what is objected to us as * * * * * being certain that the more this Holy State is assailed on earth by men, the more it is fortified in heaven by God, who does not permit that what he has pitifully vouchsafed to establish, should be loosened by the hand of man.

Tercium Membrum.

Ad disconsolacionem nostram illud novum accidit, quod, tenentibus nobis in carcere singulos potents de hujus status *impedicione* suspectos, et cum eis nuperrime Lucam de Sabello, *Vicarius* Domini nostri Pape, aut timore ipsius Luce perterritus, vel aliis tirampnidum dolis flexus, credentium ad turbacionem hujus santi status preter istas non posse unam aliam invenire causam, querit de capitolio recedendi: nec unquam in aliquo volumus, ob Domini nostri summi Pontificis reverenciam, *ejus* honoribus, et beneplacitis deviare; de quo etiam Romanus Populus est admiracione, et *dolore* commotus, dum singulos officiales Domini nostri summi Pontificis, aliquos malacia, aliquem negligencia obviare prospiciunt huic sancto statui, et quieti. Sed frustra tumescunt maria, frustra venti *furunt*, frustra ignis crepitat, et inanes resolvuntur in favillas contra hominem in Domine confidentem, qui, sicut Mons Syon, non poterit commoveri: nec obmittimus, quod Comes Campanie cum aliquibus tirampnis *damnabilibus*, machinatus procuravit tres Bannerias equitum a se dolose removere, quasi renunciasset eisdem, et ipsi venientes ad nostra stipendia, debebant nos occidere, prout inter eos fuerat ordinatum. Sed Deus, defensor noster, de eorum manibus nos-

Third Member.

It has lately happened to our discomfort, that, whilst we held in prison certain princes suspected of opposition to this state, and amongst them very recently Luca of Sabello, the Vicar of our lord the Pope, either overcome with terror of the said Luke, or influenced by the treachery of usurpers (who could find no other means of disturbing this holy state) is seeking to quit the Capitol: nor would we ever do any thing contrary to his dignity and wishes out of the reverence we bear our lord the Pope, towards whom also the Roman people are moved with wonder and grief on beholding the officers of our lord the supreme Pontiff endangering the tranquillity of this holy state, some from malice, others by negligence.

But the billows swell in vain—in vain the winds rage, and in vain the fires crackle, and are dissipated into empty sparks against the man who puts his trust in God, who is as immoveable as Mount Sion. We do not omit, that the Count of Campania with certain damnable tyrants has contrived that three banners of horse should leave his party by stealth as if he had renounced them, and come into our pay for the purpose of slaying us, as had been determined amongst them. But God, our defender, has saved our innocence out of their hands.

Know, also, in addition to the disgrace and dishonour of John de Vico, that most wicked

tram innocentiam liberavit. Sciatis eciam ad despectum, et dedecus Joannis de Vico, nequissimi proditoris, recepimus a Romano Populo officium Prefecture urbis ad gaudium, subjungentes, quod in Dei nomine in Kalendis Augusti proxime futuro die Pontificali, ac Imperiali intendimus per Romanum Populum, Spiritus Sancti gratia, ad militiam promoveri, et sic existentes Spiritus Sancti Miles, in festo gloriose Virginis Marie ejusdem mensis, Tribunicia laurea, quam Tribuni antiquitus assumebant dieposuimus coronari, mores eorum imitari eciam non verebamur, *qui ab aratris* ad officia promoti videbantur.

De iis omnibus informatis reverendum Patrem Dominum F. de filiis Ursis Domini Papæ Notarii, qui nobis quam plurimum ascripsit, nec habuimus adhuc sibi copiam rescribendi. Et excusatis nos ei, quod si modo non scribimus, est enim propter festinanciam hujus occurrentis; vos quoque kalidissime studeatis et vestrum reditum festinare, quia vobis providimus de officio honorabili, atque bono; scientes, quod non de facili, non simonia, non precibus, et instancia aliena officiales assumimus, sed opinione virtutis viros probos ad officia promovemus.

Datum in Capitolio, in quo, regnante justicia, recto corde vigemus, die decimaquinta Julii, decimaquinta indicione, liberate rei publice anno primo[1].

[1] The foregoing letter has never been published: it is marked fol. 175, 176, of the Turin MSS.

traitor, that we have received from the Roman people the prefectureship to the joy of the city, and that, through the Roman people and the grace of the Holy Spirit, we in the name of God on the pontifical and imperial day of the approaching kalends of August do intend to be promoted to the knighthood; and thus having become a knight of the Holy Ghost we have arranged that we shall be crowned on the festival of the glorious Virgin Mary in the same month, with the Tribunician Laurel, which the tribunes assumed of old, not fearing to imitate their customs, who were promoted from the plough to high duties.

You will tell all these things to the reverend lord father Orsini, the notary of our lord the Pope, who wrote to us as soon as possible, and we have not yet had an opportunity of replying to him; and you will excuse us to him that if we do not now write, it is by reason of these events. You also will eagerly endeavour to hasten your return, because we are looking out for some honourable and good office for you, knowing that we do not easily, nor by simony, appoint our officers, nor at the intreaties and instance of other persons, but promote honest men approved for their virtuous characters.

Given in the Capitol, where in this reign of justice we flourish in upright heart, on the 15th day of July, the 15th Indiction, and 1st year of the freedom of the republic.

Copia litterarum missarum per Tribunum urbis ad Dominum Papam excusandò se ab inimicis occultis, narrans etiam aliqua contra Comitem Fondorum.

Sanctissime Pater, et clementissime Domine, ne dolosarum linguarum astucia, a quibus * * * * * * * * * liberari, vestra clemencia *quatenus* non facilis, imo impossibilis, sicut reor, verbis inclinari fallacibus, cum sit scriptum omni sermoni non esse credendum, suspectum teneat tamen de cognicione mee puritatis auditum, presens litera sanctitati vestre transmittitur veri nuncia, *mendacii* inimici et dolo obvia alicujus, qui ex acuta lingua ut gladio in jaculatum sagittarum nititur in occulto, cujus *innata* et inveterata nequicia non participio status, et honoris ecclesie ipsum facit immeritum, verum efficit suscepcione aule vestre sanctitatis indignum. Noverit igitur sanctitatis vestre benignitas, me humilem servum vestrum in festo beatissime Marie Virginis de presenti mense Augusti fuisse per manus Preceptoris Hospitalis sancti spiritus, et Vicariorum ecclesiarum cathedralium urbis antiquitus solita dari tribunis laurea coronatum: videlicet sex coronis, quarum quinque fuerunt frondee, secundum Romanorum antiquum institutum, dari augentibus rem publicam consuete, et sexta fuit argentea, que

Copy of the Letters sent by the Tribune of the City to the Lord the Pope, defending himself from his secret Enemies, and mentioning certain things against the Count of Fondi.

Most holy Father, and most merciful Lord, lest through the craftiness of deceitful tongues, from which even * * * * would desire to be delivered, your clemency, hitherto not easy, nay, as I suppose, impossible to be turned from me by fallacious words, (for it is written we are not to credit every thing we hear) may not hold me suspected, notwithstanding the known proofs of my purity, this present letter is sent to your Holiness to declare the truth, to oppose falsehood, and to repel the craft of any person who darts arrows from his sharp tongue, like a secret sword, and whose innate and inveterate vice renders him unworthy not only of all dignity and honour in the state, but even of being received into the court of your Holiness.

Your Holiness will have known, that on the festival of the most blessed Virgin Mary, in this present month of August, your humble servant received from the hands of the preceptor of the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, and of the Vicars of the cathedral churches of the city, the Laurel Crown which was wont of old to be given to the Tribunes, consisting of six crowns, five of which

valorem quinque florenorum auri non excedit; et post ipsarum susceptionem sex hujusmodi coronarum pomum recepi per manus Syndici Romani Populi milicie signatum, que devote suscipiens ad memoriam sex donorum Spiritus Sancti ab ejusdem largitate alui, et sub sancte Romane Ecclesie, et Sanctitatis vestre reverencia recognovi, in quibusque suscipiendis nulla perpetuabitur auctoritas *in consensu, sive licentia nulla fuit Pontificalis oportuna potestas curie.* Non in pleno, at plenissimo publico parlamento, de assensu tocius Romani Populi, et aliorum quamplurium omnium fere civitatum Tuscie Syndicorum Ecclesie Zelo fratres, omnes homines civitatum, in quibus etiam cardinalium tituli, et bona eorum ab omni vassalagio liberavi, cives Romanos *effeci* et reduxi ad vestrum dominium, Dominorum Cardinalium, quorum in eis non modicum jurisdicio lesa erat, adversis potentibus vestre urbis. Item quod nullus Imperator, Rex, Princeps, Marchio, sive quovis alio censitus nomine cum gente audeat in Italiam mittere sine vestre Sanctitatis, vel Romani Populi licencia speciali; ad que me induxit pura, quam habeo ad Ecclesiam, sancta fides, et desiderium pacis, et quietis Italie, atque Regni. Item quod nemo detestabilia nomina Guelfum, et Guibellinum tanti jam proh dolor! Christiani sanguinis *estuaria*, audeat per totam Italiam nominare, sed, omni * * * * * deposita, fidelem *servarem* sancte Ecclesie in unitate, et pace,

were of natural leaves, given, according to an old Roman custom, to persons who had advanced the commonwealth, and the sixth of silver, not exceeding the value of five gold florins; and that after taking the above six crowns, I received also from the hand of the Sindic the apple, the ensign of the army of the Roman people; all which devoutly taking in memory of the six gifts of the Holy Ghost, I cherished as a token of his bounty, and in acknowledgement of my reverence for the most holy Roman church, and of your Holiness. And in the reception of these *there will be no perpetual assumption of authority; or was there any infraction of the power of the court of Rome*[1]. In the full, or rather in the complete public parliament, and with the assent of the whole Roman people, very many of the Sindics, of all the cities of Tuscany, brothers in Christian zeal, and all those of the cities which give titles to cardinals, were not only freed from all vassalage as to their property, but were declared by me Roman citizens, and were brought back to your authority, and to that of my lords the cardinals, whose rights had received manifest injury, in consequence of the inimical nobles of this your city. Also, that no Emperor, or King, or Prince, or Marquis, or any other under whatever title, may dare to put foot in Italy, without the special licence of your Holiness, or of the Roman people; to which I was induced by that pure and holy faith which

[1] This appears untranslatable.

* * * asserat, et cognoscat. In quibus, et aliis per me gestis, si aliquid potest reputari Ecclesie sancte contrarium, que per universum pacem decantant, et predicant, relinquo vestre judicio sanctitatis, cupiens anxie, et non ficte, quod dignetur vestra sanctitas mittere aliquem virum Dei, ut de singulis, que peregi, voluntate vestri Romani Populi *discuciat*, et inquirat; et si forte mali quo me inculpat reperiat, ante pedes vestros venturum me obligo, pena qualibet, juxta sanctitatis vestre justiciam sine misericordia puniendus. Nec vestram clemenciam lateat, quod contra hostem Ecclesie, atque vestrum Nicolaum Gartanum, olim Fondorum comitem, per exercitum victoriosum procedo viriliter, paratis opportunis, et jam misi Cancellarium, urbis Angelum Malabreme in ostensionem terrarum Comitis prelibati cum equitibus quadringentis *positis* in campo feliciter, cum Spiritus Sancti gratia, et favore, ultra duodecim centenaria equitum strenuorum cum balistariis, et hominibus aliis infinitis, et quod ipsum spero faciliter conculcare, quod nunquam * * * * * ut resurgat. Cujus exercitus Joannem natum Stephani de Columpna, Principem milicie ordinavi. Et quod in iis partibus cepit indere aliqua, licet modica carestia, cui adhibui, et adhibeo proposse remedia, procurans de Sicilie partibus granum deffĕrri facere, ac eciam aliunde, et terras Romani districtus, quarum diu inculta pars maxima jacuit, reduci

I bear to the church, and by the desire of peace and of the quiet of Italy, and of the kingdom at large.

Also, that no one may for the future dare to mention the detested names of Guelf and Ghibeline; but laying aside all party distinctions, assert and acknowledge the power of the * * * * * of the Holy Church, in unity and peace.

In all which, and other things by me done, if there be any thing that can be esteemed contrary to Holy Church, seeing that they proclaim and preach universal peace, I leave to the judgment of your Holiness; desiring anxiously and unfeignedly that your Holiness would deign to send hither some man of God, to discuss and enquire into all those things which I have done by the will of your Roman people; and if the said shall find any of that evil in me with which I am charged, I do oblige myself, under any penalty, to be punished without mercy according to the justice of your Holiness. Nor let it be unknown to your clemency, that against the enemy of the church, and of yourself, Nicholas Gartanus, formerly Count of Fondi, I am now proceeding manfully with a victorious army, and have already sent before me Angelo Malabreme, the chancellor of the city, to make an incursion into the lands of the said Count, with four hundred knights well arrayed for battle, with the grace and power of the Holy Spirit, besides twelve hundred other horsemen

faciens ad culturam; et per concessionem Jubilei nisi provideatur, aliter posset excrescere, dum multi de diversis mundi partibus Romam perperam confluent, multique granum procurabant abscondere[1].

Cetera desiderantur.

[1] This letter is not in Hocsemius; it is marked fol. 167 of the Turin MSS.

with slingers, and an infinite number of other soldiers; who, as I hope, will easily tread him under foot, so that he shall never again rise. Of which army I have appointed John the son of Stephen Colonna, prince of the soldiery; and because there is in those parts a commencing scarcity, although to great extremity, I have resorted, and as far as I am able do now resort, to certain remedies; enacting that grain shall be imported from Sicily and from other countries, and ordaining that many lands of our Roman district, the greater part of which have long lain uncultivated, shall now be again sown: for I am aware that otherwise this scarcity may increase owing to the granting of the Jubilee, which will bring such multitudes from all quarters to Rome, and because many have found means to amass and conceal the grain.

The rest is wanting.

Modus, et forma coronacionis Tribuni sic fuit.

Prima corona quercus presentetur per Priorem Ecclesie Lateranensis, dicentem sic: Suscipe quercum, qua cives a morte servasti.

Secunda corona de edera, dicentem: Suscipe ederam, qua religionem amasti; et fuit presentata per Priorem Sancti Petri.

Tertia corona de mirto fuit presentata per Decanum Sancti Pauli dicentem: Suscipe mirtum, qoniam officia, et Scientiam observasti, et avariciam odisti.

Quarta corona fuit de lauro, presentata per abbatem Sancti Laurencii extra muros Urbis, dicentem: Suscipe laurum, quoniam officia, et Scientiam observasti, et avaritiam odisti.

Quinta corona fuit de oliva, presentata per Priorem Sancte Marie Majoris, dicentem: Vir humilis, Suscipe olivam, quoniam cum humilitate superbjam superasti.

Sexta corona fuit argentea, et sceptrum; *fuit presentata* per Priorem Sancti Spiritus in Saxia, dicentem: Tribune auguste: Suscipe, dona Spiritus Sancti, cum corona, et Sceptro, et Spiritualem coronam.

Pomum autem detur per Dominum Gotfridum sic dicentem: Tribune Auguste, suscipe, et cole justiciam, da libertatem, et pacem; et osculetur eum. Vicarius Domini Ostiensis dirigat coronas.

The manner and form of the Coronation of the Tribune was thus:

The first crown of oak shall be presented by the Prior of the Lateran Church, saying: Receive the oak, with which thou hast preserved the citizens from death.

The second crown of ivy was presented by the Prior of St. Peter's, saying: Receive the ivy, with which thou hast cherished religion.

The third crown of myrtle was presented by the Dean of St. Paul's, saying: Receive the myrtle, since thou hast observed thy duties and thy science, and hast abhorred avarice.

The fourth crown of laurel was presented by the Abbey of St. Laurence, without the walls of the city, saying: Receive the laurel, for thou hast observed thy duties and thy science, and hast abhorred avarice.

The fifth crown of olive was presented by the Prior of Santa Maria Maggiore, saying: Humble man, receive the olive, for thou hast overcome pride with humility.

The sixth crown was of silver, as was the sceptre, and was presented by the Prior of Santo Spirito in Saxia, saying: Tribune August, receive the gifts of the Holy Spirit, with a crown and sceptre, and a spiritual crown.

But the apple was to be given by the Lord Gotfridus, saying: Tribune August, receive—

Dominus archiepiscopus Neapolitanus non permittat auferri argenteam coronam.

Et dum predictus Tribunus coronabatur, secum quemdam pauperem habebat vilissime indutum in signum humilitatis; asserens predictus Tribunus, quod antiquus mos erat, quo Imperatores Romani cum triumphabant, tollerabant, et sustinebant omnia verba injuriosa per quoscumque eis dicentes illo die.

Dicto die dictus dominus Tribunus in consilio primus surrexit, collaudendo ambaxiatores, et civitates, que advenerant in subsidium Romani populi, offerendo se, et Romanum populum supradictis ambaxiatoribus, et civitatibus ad omnia, que fuerint eis necessaria, et oportuna. Item sciatis, quod Joannes de Columpna signatus, electus, et factus est capitaneus contra Comitem Fundorum non removendo propterea Capitaneum in partibus Tuscie, immo pocius confirmando [1].

[1] This is in Hocsemius, and appears a note of how the ceremony was to be arranged, and how it was conducted. If these specimens of Rienzi's writing should be thought interesting, his letter to the Pope, which is given in Hocsemius, will be, on another opportunity, published from the Turin MSS. Those better acquainted with the Latin of the fourteenth century, may be able to correct the text and the translation.

and reverence justice, grant liberty and peace —and he kisses him.

The Vicar of the Lord of Ostia was director of the crowns.

The Lord Archbishop of Naples must not allow the silver crown to be removed.

And whilst the aforesaid tribune was being crowned, he had with him a certain poor person most meanly clad, as an example of humility; the said tribune declaring that there existed an ancient custom, that the Roman Emperors, when they triumphed, tolerated, and bore all injurious words by whomsoever spoken on that day.

On the said day, the said Lord Tribune rose first in council, applauding the ambassadors and states which had come to the assistance of the Roman people, offering himself and the Roman people to execute every thing which was expedient and seasonable for them.

You are to know also that John Colonna is marked, elected and made general against the Count of Fondi, not to the prejudice of the general in Tuscany, who is rather confirmed.

Fac simile of Tasso's hand-writing.

In lode del Sig.mo S.r Duca di Mantoua

Lucido oro tal volta, e lucido ostro
Di gemme d'oriente anco risplende,
ma lume altero da l'occaso hor prende
Non sol chi bebbe da l'Orto il sangue nostro:
E quinci alto valor, del secol nostro
e quinci antico honor più degno il rende,
e breue stilla a quel ch'in noi discende
Mille fonti sarian di puro inchiostro:
Ma sì chiaro splendor d'Augusti inuitti
e di famosi Heroi, che spoglie, e palme
lasciaro al mondo, et immortal memoria:
e tanti pregi de le nobili alme,
quali Natura ha di sua man descritti
Ne la vostra bella, ch'è nouo gloria?

EXPLANATION OF THE FUNERAL VASES.

Plate I.

1. Section of a Vase, containing the ashes of a funeral pile, the urns, and the utensils, above three palms in height.
2. Sepulchral Urn, about one palm three inches high; containing the ashes and bones, the little balsamic vase called "Lecytus," an unknown utensil of clay, divided into two branches towards the extremities, a small metallic wheel, and broach noticed in No. 5.
3. Vessels called *Animatoria*, with funnels for the exhalation of the perfumed smoke, according to Vitruvius.
4. Vase called *Calefactorium*, having at the lower extremity a small furnace for smoke, whence the perfume, proceeding from the fluid contained in the upper part, was extracted.
5. A metallic Buckle, used to fasten the cloth which enclosed the ashes. The Vase in the centre containing the lustral water: the four Vases about it, for wine, oil, milk, &c. The Vase with a spout, called *Guttus*. The three Dishes, and the Bowl with two handles, in front of the Urn. The Lamp, which is placed on the left of the Urn.

Plate II.

1. An Urn on the model of a temple, fastened with a metallic pin.
2. Vases called *Animatoria*.
3. Ditto.
4. View of the four sides of the Vases called *Animatoria*, as in No. 2.

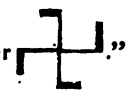
PLATE III.

1. Urn, like a visor fastened with a metallic pin.
2. A *Calefactorium.*
3. The *Oscilla,* or little clay figure.
4. A lamp.

PLATE III. *Under Part.*

1. A small lance-head.
2. A hook.
3. Do.
4. A writing stylus, with the obliterating instrument attached.

It has not been thought necessary to give the representation of the coverlid of the vase which contains the marks, of which a copy has been inserted in page 341: but whilst we are on the subject of the same character, it may be observed, that there is a curious dissertation upon the origin of the Hindû system in the Asiatic Researches (vol. viii. p. 77) which may be worth transcribing.

"This kam-ghata, or jar, is the principal object in the "celebration of Hindû worship. The Vaishnavas use the "sacred jar, which they mark with several crosses in this "manner ."

Sir William Jones, with his usual taste and research, has drawn a parallel between the deities of Meru and Olympus: and an enthusiast might, perhaps, maintain, that the vases of Alba Longa were a relic of the times, when one religion prevailed in Latium and Hindûstan. It is more singular, that the Hindû cross is precisely the hammer of Thor.

PLATE I.



PLATE II.



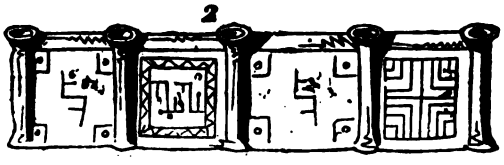
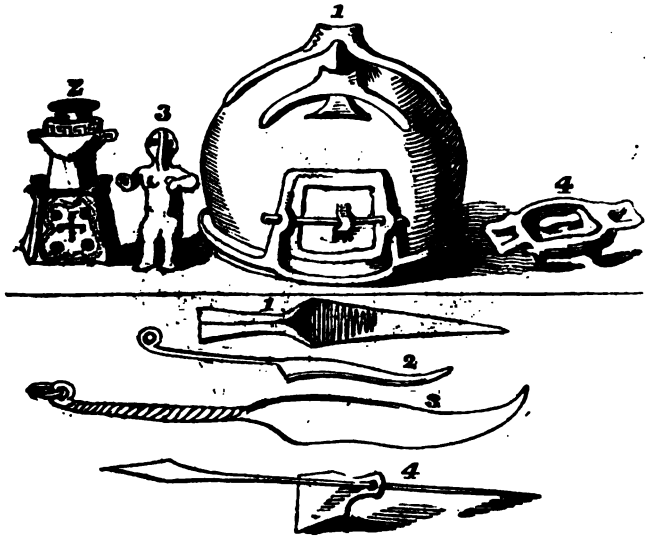


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THE END.

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